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Reports on Events Surrounding Kosovo Strike

Cami Issues Statement

AU2602204189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Statement of Foto Cami, secretary of the AWP Central Committee and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, on recent events in Kosovo:

The news coming from Kosovo is disturbing. Some 1,300 Trepca miners, 600 meters below ground, demand that their voice, the voice of reason, should be heard. The entire Albanian population of Kosovo has expressed solidarity with their just demands, and has fallen into a terrible nightmare of what new tragedy and irreparable outcome fate might bring. Meanwhile, the Yugoslav leadership has withdrawn and closed their eyes to what might happen in Kosovo. The indifference and neglect with which this leadership views recent events, as if in this way it could improve its honor and name before the peoples of Yugoslavia and the world, is incomprehensible and disturbing. It is incomprehensible and disturbing how a state and party leadership can refuse to enter into dialogue with its own people and citizens. This attitude is a result of a mistaken line which has led to the paralysis of reason, cool-headedness, and wisdom, which are so necessary to solve the social and national conflicts that can arise in such a multiethnic state as Yugoslavia. It is a result of the failure to find, or, we would rather say, the lack of will to find the correct path that would extract all of Yugoslavia from crisis and onto the road of justice and equality among nationalities, and harmony among people. Any road could be found to solve the crisis, but not that of the ideology of old Great Serbian romanticism, returning to the myths of the Middle Ages, nostalgia for the epoch of the domination of the Serbian monarchy, ethnic hatred, and everything that the National Liberation War of the Yugoslav peoples overcame.

The demands of the Albanians in Yugoslavia have become public. They are familiar to the peoples of Yugoslavia and to world public opinion. The Albanians do not seek to dominate Yugoslavia, do not seek power, or seek to take anyone's wealth or anything else. Just as they are proud of their history, culture, traditions, and customs, so they respect the originality and identity of other peoples and nations with whom history has united them and destined them to live together. They want the autonomy that they won with blood and sacrifice together with other peoples in the National Liberation War and which was also sanctioned in the SFRY Constitution of 1974, and demand the same rights possessed by other peoples of Yugoslavia to be respected as they respect others; they demand the right of education in their mother tongue, the development of their national culture, just and equal representation in state bodies, and the right to vote for and elect those persons who are to be in charge of these bodies.

It has now long been proved that the situation in Kosovo cannot be controlled, and political life in Yugoslavia cannot be stabilized without the Albanians, and still less in the teeth of the Albanians, and in the teeth of their rights, their personalities, and their dignity. To rely further on the method of force and violence, as once again confirmed by the president of Yugoslavia himself in his recent decision to send fresh police forces to Kosovo, means to move toward a further complication of the situation and an exacerbation of the conflict.

Socialist Albania has always desired the best possible relations with neighboring Yugoslavia, and to have extensive contacts and cooperation with it. The interests of both countries demand this, for we are neighbors and have lived alongside each other for centuries; our destiny has often been the same, because the good and evil brought by the world's storms have affected us equally, as they will in the future.

The anti-Albanian policy which continues to be one of the principal ingredients of political life in Yugoslavia and the continued national oppression of the Albanians not only hampers relations between our two countries but compromises them. In this context, the policies pursued toward the Albanians in Kosovo, and such dire situations created by this policy such as that in Trepca, cannot fail to also negatively influence Balkan cooperation and its prospects. The national, cultural, and social emancipation of minorities in the Balkans and still more so that of such a large population as the Albanians in Yugoslavia, their equal rights, and respect of their characteristics are fundamental conditions for extinguishing Balkan conflicts, strengthening a spirit of trust and understanding, and for ties of cooperation.

It is, therefore, hard for us to understand how this can be reconciled with Yugoslavia's declarations of a desire for sincere cooperation among Balkan countries, and Yugoslavia's claim to be the leader of nonaligned countries in their struggle to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism, racism, and so on. How can it seek to join the mainstream of Europe in the 21st century if it behaves in such a medieval way toward the Albanians, toward 2.5 million of its own citizens?

Recent events in Kosovo have aroused a wide echo in the world. The tragedy and calvary of the Albanians, and the oppression, persecution, and insults meted out to them, cannot leave any progressive and democratic person in the world indifferent. No person who holds dear national and individual freedom, justice, and humanism can be unaffected. The nations and peoples no longer stand alone and isolated from each other. The pain of one soon becomes the pain of another. Therefore, we all must, and do, feel the pain of Kosovo still more deeply, and demand that it be ended as soon as possible.

ATA 'Statement' on Situation

LD2502112789 Tiana ATA in English
0920 GMT 25 Feb 89

["Statement of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 24 (ATA)—The events taking place in Kosovo these days have ever more increased the concern of the Albanian official and public opinion over the dangerous developments these events might assume both in regard to the destiny of the Albanian and the internal situation in Yuglslavia as well as to the very delicate relationships existing in the Balkans. They are a consequence of the shortsighted policy which does not take into consideration either the lessons of the tragic history of the people's of Yugoslavia, or the democratic processes of national, social and human emancipation taking place in the world. They are result of the (?failings) of an ultranationalist policy which has become outdated and which seeks to keep itself alive through violence.

The current strikes of the Albanians are in protest against this policy, against a national prolonged oppression, against a continuous discrimination and especially, against a perspective which reduces them to second rank citizens, to people whom anyone can offend, can force to emigrate or even kill.

It is a misfortune, but it is a fact, that the Yugoslavian authorities, all those who have the power in hand and decide on the country's destiny, have not wanted and do not want to listen to the voice of reason, to judge with wisdom and objectivity, to solve the problems, which have arisen in Kosovo, with justice and in conformity with the principle of the equality among nations, which are also contained in the fundamental laws of the Yugoslav state.

The Yugoslav federal state system, which emerged from the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] meeting in 1943, at the climax of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia, was set up on the shattered ruins of the Serbian monarchist regime and on the principles of full equality among all the peoples and nations of Yugoslavia.

The removal of Kosova's autonomy which is being sought through the insistence and violence of the Serbian nationalism, is a heavy blow to the ideals for which the peoples of Yugoslavia, including also the Albanians laid down their lives and sacrified themselves. The removal or the reduction of Kosovo's destiny is also the destiny of the other nations of Yugoslavia. We desire and wish that nothing happens neither to the Albanians in Yugoslavia, nor to any other nation or people there. Our opinion has always been and is that the preservation of their national, democratic and social rights, the economic and cultural progress, the reciprocal equality and respect among them, the cooperation and civilised coexistence are important factors for the stability of Yugoslavia for which we are all interested.

It is from this position that we have publicly denounced and denouce the chauvinist policy pursued towards the Albanians in Kosovo, the anti-Albanian compaign which has swept Yugoslavia, the attack against their human rights.

It is not up only to the Albanian people to defend the legitimate rights of Albanians in Yugoslavia. This should be made by all who really respect Yugoslavia and wish its stability and well-being. It would be naive, not to say a grave mistake, to think that Yugoslavia would overcome the crisis, about which all are disturbed, through the old practises of the national oppression.

The defence of the national and democratic rights of Yugoslavia's peoples and nations, including the Albanians too, should also be made by those who desire that the long-suffering Balkan lives in peace and security, that the sincere cooperation between the states goes ahead and be turned into an element of the progressive processes in Europe and in the world. This would be an important test for all those who speak about human rights and about the rights of the individuals, about pluralism and democracy. Neither democracy and plurlism, nor human rights can exist out of the national [words indistinct].

Situations like the one created at present in Kosovo might be used by different provocators, who seek to open the door to the use of force and to the exercise of terror against Albanians. This should not be allowed, because it would be of grave consequences not only for the Albanian population, but for all the Yugoslavian peoples and broader.

The problems of Kosovo are great and grave. The reason and the logic demand that they be solved with (?coldbloodedness) and wisdom. But, as it seems, the nationalist passions in Yugoslavia prevail over wisdom and logic. The greatest evil is that the problems of Kosovo are sought to be resolved not only without the Albanians, but even against them. We can say that this is a blind alley, a dangeous road that nobody knows where it leads to.

TANJUG Cited on Strikes

AU2302125089 Tirana ATA in English
0750 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Tirana, February 22 (ATA)— The Yugoslav news agency, TANJUG, reports that a new wave of strikes has swept over many enterprises of Kosovo these days. They started on Monday at the "Stari Trg" mine of Trepce, and later thousands of workers of the plants of Trepce and other enterprises of Kosovo were in solidarity with the miners on strike. The workers of the "Balkan" big enterprise of Suhareka, those of the "Ramiz Sadiku," the

vehicle spare part factory in Pec, workers of the "Electroekonomia of Kosovo" and the bumper factory in Pristina, the textile enterprise in Prizren etc., have been swept by the strike. The miners have not departed from galleries and the workers of the other enterprises stay near the machines but do not accept to work. Many strikers will not accept nutrition and water, until their demands are fulfilled.

According to TANJUG, the workers demand that the constitution of 1974 not be changed, they oppose the draft amendments for the constitution of Serbia, which practically eliminate these guarantees. Through their demands they persist that an end be put to the anti-Albanian policy and campaign, pursued by the leadership of Serbia. The strikers, as TANJUG points out, demand that the chairman of the LCY Presidency, Stipe Suvar and the head of the Serbian party, Slobodan Milosevic, go to Kosovo to talk with them. The Kosovo workers voiced their determination against the evaluations by the political organs of Serbia and the federation according to which the "manifestations" of last November in Kosovo were nationalist and separatist demonstrations" and they have demanded the resignation of Slobodan Milosevic; the chairman of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Rrahman Morina and some other officials.

The current workers protest, the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG points out, may be turned into a general strike. It stresses that these strikes take place on the eve of the session of the Assembly of Serbia that will approve the amendments of the constitution of this republic. The internal affairs secretary of Serbia, Radmilo Bogdanovic, warned yesterday that the rule on banning the citizens to come together, established following the demonstrations staged in Kosovo last November, continues to be in force. On February 21, there was also held a joint meeting of the state and party regional presidencies, after which a declaration was published demanding from the workers to put an end to the strike and return to work.

In a commentary by the British agency REUTER, on the current events in Kosovo, written by Peter Humphrey, it is stressed that "the ethnic Albanians have rebelled against Serbia's endeavors to establish its domination on the Yugoslav region of Kosovo". The wave of strikes, the above agency points out, began 24 hours prior to the meeting of the Serbian parliament on the approval of the constitutional amendments which will limit Kosovo's autonomy. The return of Kosovo and Vojvodina under Serbia's direct control would extend Serbia's power in the federation of the six republics. Kosovo, REUTER underlines, has become part of a broader game for power, in which it is clearly seen, that the chief of the Serbian party Slobodan Milosevic, is aspiring to become the new strongest man of Yugoslavia.

The reports of the Austrian news agency APA, and the West German agency, DPA, point out that the roots of the conflict are to be found in the attempts of a bigger republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia, to put under full control the Kosovo region. Serbia, these agencies underline, demands to exert its power on Kosovo through constitutional changes, which should be approved even by this region. Under the strong Serbian pressure, the Austrian news agency adds, changes were made in the party leadership of this region, while last November more than 100,000 Albanians conducted manifestations for several consecutive days against the Serbian pressure. TANJUG also report that on February 22, 215 Albanian intellectuals of Kosovo addressed an appeal to the Yugoslav public opinion concerning the constitutional changes in Serbia, which stresses that the narrowing of the constitutional position of Kosovo will arouse in the Albanians the objective feeling that they are being deprived of something which belongs to them originally. They demand that no changes be done to the constitutional solutions of the year 1974 concerning Kosovo's autonomy and that Serbia's Assembly adopt only those constitutional changes which do not affect the existing relations between the republic and the region.

Leader's Public Appearances for 17-24 Feb

AU2502173889

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 17-24 February reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee [CC] Politburo member and secretary, and Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee, attended on 17 February a meeting organized by the Union of Writers and Artists to discuss the program for the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation. (1900 GMT 17 Feb 89) Foto Cami and Pirro Kondi attended the funeral of poet Aleks Caci in Tirana on 24 February. (1900 GMT 24 Feb 89)

Muho Asllani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Durres District AWP Committee first secretary, attended on 24 February the inauguration of a gas pipeline linking the cities of Durres and Kavaje. (1900 GMT 24 Feb 89)

Hekuran Isai, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, visited a Diber District cooperative on 18 February. (1900 GMT 18 Feb 89)

Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, accompanied on 17-19 February Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, who made an informal visit to Albania. (1900 GMT 19 Feb 89)

Rita Marko, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, attended on 18 February a seminar organized by the Presidium in connection with the 7 May elections for people's courts and people's councils. (1700 GMT 18 Feb 89)

Jakes Interviewed on Foreign, Defense Policies
LD2402202689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, gave an interview today to Zdenek Horeni, editor in chief of RUDE PRAVO. The interview dealt with Czechoslovak foreign policy initiatives in the military, political, economic, humanitarian, and ecological fields.

Milos Jakes pointed out that the military aspects of the proposal to etablish a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states covered two areas of questions: measures for further strengthening trust beyond the framework of the provisions of the 1986 Stockholm document, and thinning the troop contingents deployed in the proposed zone.

In concrete terms, this means that Czechoslovakia is willing to come to an agreement with states on this dividing line on, for example, informing one another about military exercises, including those with a lower number of participants than set out in the Stockholm conference document. In addition, Czechoslovakia favors a greater exchange of information, including data on the armed forces in the zone of trust.

If in the past the initiatives by the socialist countries were almost automatically described in the West as propaganda, now the situation is changing somewhat with regard to the facts, even though we are still seeing efforts to make light of these measures. At the same time, however, a number of politicians and experts in the NATO member states have spoken highly of the initiatives by Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries, noting that they have not only a military significance but also a political one.

The North Atlantic alliance itself apparently still has no joint response drawn up to the Warsaw Pact proposals. We are waiting impatiently for this response.

Milos Jakes expressed the hope that the Western partners' response in the disarmament talks would be a constructive one, and that this would make it possible, in keeping with the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting, to put into motion the much-awaited and desirable process of disarmament in Europe. He went on to point out that the recent unilateral measures by the Soviet Union, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia were in keeping with the objectives of the military aspect of Czechoslovakia's initiative on setting up a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations on the dividing line between the two military blocs in Europe. By 1991, for example, the Soviet Union would be withdrawing six tank divisions from Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Hungary and disbanding them. Czechoslovakia is to reduce the number of its tanks by 850, and the GDR by 600.

As for the Warsaw Pact member states, the dilution of the contingent of armies, in the zone discussed in the Czechoslovak initiative, has already been under way.

Comrade Jakes said that as for the question of defense spending, there is still a different approach toward compiling the data, not only by individual socialist countries but also by capitalist states. From this, understandable difficulties arise when the levels are compared.

As for the socialist countries, a reevaluation has now occurred concerning the data to be kept secret. This is linked to positive changes in international relations and the new thinking being implemented by the Soviet Union, which we in Czechoslovakia fully support. It is also an expression of the effort to contribute toward replacing the policy of confrontation in relations between states with different social systems by mutual trust and constructive cooperation.

The CPCZ considers it correct to have our citizens in the future better informed about military questions. Therefore, data will also be published in this field. Comrade Jakes went on to say that during the withdrawal of Soviet troops, not only a tank division would be withdrawn in the course of the coming 2 years, but also other units and combat aircraft. The Czechoslovak as well as the world public will have the opportunity to observe the withdrawal of Soviet troops through information provided by our and foreign journalists.

Milos Jakes, in his interview given to RUDE PRAVO editor Zdenek Horeni, went on to say the adopted unilateral measures by the Warsaw Pact member states were a specific expression of their efforts to work for a reasonable defensive sufficiency. He stressed that disarmament could not be reached by way of unilateral steps. Therefore, all adopted measures were considered carefully to secure the reliable defense of the country in the future as well as the fulfillment of obligations arising from Czechoslovakia's membership in the Warsaw Pact.

Comrade Jakes also discussed principles and suggestions whose realization could contribute toward gradually creating the zone of trust.

He said that in the political area this would be, for example, regular dialogue on the parliamentary and government line, and the intensification of contacts between political parties, social organizations, and nongovernmental and other institutions.

In the economic area Czechoslovakia is striving for wide and mutually beneficial cooperation. It is useful to agree on steps that would ease the development of trade, widen the traditional areas of industrial cooperation by new branches, deepen joint activity on third markets, and help the setting up of joint enterprises. Czechoslovakia has also worked out in detail proposals for cooperation in the protection of the environment, for humanitarian, cultural, scientific, educational, and health areas. The

proposals are being continually realized and enriched. At the present time the contents of the Czechoslovak initiative are being supplemented in harmony with the closing document of the Vienna follow-up meeting.

Milos Jakes emphasized that Czechoslovakia does not consider the initiative for the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations to be closed. It is also open to initiatives and proposals by other states.

In another part of the interview, Comrade Jakes discussed cooperation in protecting the environment, and he emphasized that in central Europe and the whole world this problem cannot be solved simply with isolated approaches by individual countries, but rather by uniting forces and means on an international scale. The proposal by Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec for a meeting of government premiers of countries neighboring on Czechoslovakia follows from all the appeals adopted on the soil of the United Nations, the CEMA, and the EEC. It is aimed at a specifically designated area. The intention of the Czechoslovak side is to mutually evaluate all that can realistically be done to solve problems, particularly in the areas of air pollution and the protection of waterways. At the same time, the knowledge of factual data on the state of the environment is vital for all countries, and this will contribute to the better mutual evaluation of the situation and the adoption of necessary solutions. For this reason Czechoslovakia is considering the possibility of creating a unified system of monitoring the development of the ecological situation and an information data bank.

Improving the environment in central Europe will require demanding technological solutions and organizational and legisiative measures. The extent of the tasks exceeds the possibilities of one state. It is therefore worthwhile to create a joint consultative organ whose activity would contribute to the removal of administrative obstacles, to increasing information, and to speeding up joint action. Prague could become the seat of this organ.

Comrade Jakes stated that Czechoslovakia is also interested in the Eureka technology program. Some progressive civilian projects of this program were identified in our scientific research institutions, but the inclusion of socialist states, however, requires the removal of some obstacles of a contractual legal and financial character.

Comrade Jakes went on to say that the Czechoslovak delegation to the upcoming disarmament talks on conventional weapons in Vienna will strive for an agreement on a fundamental reduction in the number of armed forces and conventional armaments of the NATO and Warsaw Pact member states, according to the principle of sensible sufficiency. During the talks the point of departure for the Czechoslovak delegation will be the conceptions adopted with its Warsaw Pact allies. In harmony with this it will implement stands ensuing from Czechoslovakia's geographic location as they are summarized in the Czechoslovak initiative of February 1988.

Jakes Discusses Proposal for Zone of Trust

LD2102211889 Prague in Czech to Europe 2230 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] In February 1988 Czechoslovakia issued an appeal to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations at the demarcation line between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO member states. The proposal was submitted by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. And it was to him that the DEMOCRATIC JOURNALIST magazine, which is published by the International Organization of Journalists, turned with a question concerning the further developments of this initiative.

First of all, the potential participants in the proposed zone and representatives of other countries acquainted themselves with the basic framework and aims of the initiative, Milos Jakes replied. He continued: These talks were conducted through an official channel at governmental and diplomatic levels, and also many talks between political parties and social organizations dealt with this issue. It has emerged that our proposal has in principle been received favorably. This is why we have started to elaborate our specific vision of how the main ideas of the Czechoslovak initiative could be implemented in individual spheres—that is, in the political, military, economic, ecological, and humanitarian spheres. At present we are discussing these ideas with the NATO countries and some neutral states in the area of contact of the two groupings which have shown interest in participating in the creation of the zone of trust.

We are thus in a period of a dialogue whose aim is to clarify views of individual countries to obtain not only comments but also further proposals. In this sense our initiative is quite open, and we envisage that it should be enriched with the views and experiences of partners.

As the CPCZ Central Commitee general secretary said, our partners have been showing the greatest interest in the military aspects of the Czechoslovak initiative. We are realists, Milos Jakes said, and so we are not striving to jump the gun in the basic military measures prior to the talks to be conducted on the basis of the mandate of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting. However, we distinguish between that which can now be carried out to strengthen trust in the military sphere on a bilateral basis, and that which is in the competence of the two military-political groupings. The reduction that we proposed of the most dangerous offensive weapons—such as tanks, artillery and rocket-launcher systems—in the zone should naturally be achieved in accordance with the principle of the mutual removal of imbalance and asymmetry in individual types of conventional weapons.

It is in our interest, the top Czechoslovak party representative stressed, for the conclusions that will be agreed upon in the context of the all-European solution from the Atlantic to the Urals to be especially intensively implemented— that is, in the zone along the demarcation line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states. This means the place where the danger of the start of a conflict, even if it is accidental, is greatest.

We have acquainted you with the main gist of the replies given by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to questions by the DEMOCRATIC JOURNALIST magazine.

Jakes Chairs National Front Presidium Session

LD2402130989 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Excerpts] A National Front Central Committee Presidium session was held today in Valdstejn Palace, in Prague, chaired by Comrade Milos Jakes. The participants voiced full support for the declaration by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st anniversary of the February victory, and appealed to all organizations affiliated to the National Front to react positively to the declaration by stepping up their work initiative so as to fulfill the tasks of this year's plan as a vital condition for maintaining the people's living standards. They appealed to National Front bodies, political parties, and the public and interest-based organisations to think of specific ways in which they can endorse this declaration, not only at work and in schools, but also at home. [passage omitted]

The Presidium also discussed the contents of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting's final document, and recommended that the political parties and public organizations make an active contribution to putting the document's contents into effect through their domestic and international activity.

The Presidium ended by discussing preparations for by-elections to the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils, which will take place on 20 April.

Jakes, Husak Attend Soviet Army Day Reception

LD2402123289 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] The military and air attache to the Soviet Embassy in Czechoslovakia, Lieutenant General Ivan Shport, gave a gala reception today in Prague on the occasion of the 71st aniversary of the founding of the Soviet Army. Accompanied by Viktor Lomakin, ambassador to the CSSR, he welcomed to the reception Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Gustav Husak, president of the Republic; and Ladislav Adamec, federal premier; and other representatives.

NATO Delegation Arrives, Holds News Briefing

LD2402230989 Prague CTK in English 1834 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 23 (CTK)—The unilateral military measures announced by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, are a right step and a good starting point for the forthcoming Vienna talks, Bruce George, chairman of the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) Political Committee and head of an NAA delegation, told journalists Thursday [23 February].

The delegation arrived here Wednesday for a three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia which is after Hungary the second socialist country visited by the NAA Political Committee members from eight NATO countries.

Similar steps cannot be expected from the part of NATO at present because in its view there is still asymmetry in the number of conventional arms between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO even after the cuts, Bruce George said, adding that the NAA Political Committee studies carefully the initiatives of individual socialist countries, and it would not be wise to draw hasty conclusions. Answering a question when NATO would publish exact figures of its military potential as the Warsaw Treaty did, Bruce George said that these figures were now being assembled.

The NAA Political Committee chairman said that at meetings with chairman of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation Bohuslav Kucera, Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart, the two sides found both a number of aspects which link them, as well as those which separate them. He pointed to the agreement reached upon the necessity of higher control and armament and the development of bilateral trade relations, but the question of modernizing short-range missiles in NATO states remained at issue.

Vacek on Defense Spending

LD2402210789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] A delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly consisting of deputies of the parliaments of the NATO member states was received today in Prague by Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army and first deputy minister of national defense.

Bruce George, chairman of the assembly's Political Committee, asked Miroslav Vacek and his colleagues for an explanation of the Czechoslovak initiative made at the begining of this year, stating that some people in NATO hold the view that this is a very positive set of initiatives.

The chief of the general staff stressed that the aim of the unilateral measures is to enhance the defensive character of our units and formations in defending the sovereignty of our state and the socialist community as a whole. Miroslav Vacek also pointed out that our reduced defense spending in 1989-1990 stood out in comparison with the fact that certain Western countries are increasing their own military budgets.

Bruce George asked how much of the Czechoslovak budget was spent on defense. Col Gen Vacek replied that it is something like 7 percent. At the same time he refuted speculation by foreign news agencies that the amount was somewhere in the range of 17-20 percent.

Pelle Voigt, a Danish deputy, spoke highly of the openness he had encountered in his talks with representatives of the Czechoslovak general staff. He expressed interest in the defensive principles of the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine, which adopted such principles before NATO did. He asked the Czechoslovak generals how this defensive character is reflected in the organization of forces, the training of commanders, and in the military ranks. Col Gen Vacek, in reply, highlighted in particular the marked reduction of tanks in the organizational structures of our divisions. In the next 12 months, he said, the Czechoslovak People's Army's order-of-battle will be brought into harmony with this defensive doctrine. Miroslav Vacek went on to recall the historical experience of the Czechoslovak people. Our republic has never threatened anyone in its history and does not threaten anyone now. We have no territorial claims against anyone.

At the end of the meeting, General Vacek described the talks with the deputies of the North Atlantic alliance deputies as very useful. He praised the fact that they had sought to obtain very accurate information for their work and had paid great attention to the Czechoslovak measures adopted at the end of January by the State Defense Council. It is true that on occasion we have registered a mistrust of certain facts and certain stereotypes in thinking, General Vacek stated, but due credit must be given to the openness with which the deputies approached our explanations and comments, as well as their interest in understanding our opinions and views.

In an interview with Czechoslovak newsmen, Bruce George described our army as efficient and high quality. I am glad that we are currently in a situation in which the main words in our vocabulary are harmony and accord, instead of conflict. Following our visit to Czechoslovakia, Bruce George concluded, we have high hopes of succeeding in pursuing the process of detente.

Adamec Interviewed on Soviet-Iranian Gas Deal

AU2102101489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Feb 89 pp 1, 4

[Report by Vladimir Jancura, Bratislava PRAVDA permament correspondent in Moscow, and CTK: "Ladislav Adamec Concluded His Official Friendly Visit to the USSR; The Need To Develop Direct Relations"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] At the end of his official friendly visit to the Soviet Union, CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec gave an interview to Czechoslovak journalists accredited to Moscow. [passage omitted]

When asked by our permanent Moscow correspondent what progress has been achieved in talks on increasing deliveries of Soviet natural gas and crude oil in return for Czechoslovak consumer goods over and above the already agreed- upon deliveries, Comrade Adamec said:

Yes, we this time, too, requested greater deliveries of crude oil and, in particular, natural gas. The Soviet side promised that they will study the request thoroughly and will do their best to meet our demand. However, even today it is certain that they cannot fully comply with our proposed request. There are justified reasons for this, reasons that we must respect. As for our consumer goods, the Soviet side is eminently interested in further increasing the deliveries. When we receive more crude oil and natural gas from the USSR, we will certainly pay compensation for it, although, of course, we must also take into consideration the situation on our domestic market, which is—unfortunately—presently inadequately supplied and has to be improved.

PRAVDA's next question was how is this connected with the problem of the project utilizing Iranian gas?

We are interested in this, L. Adamec stressed, especially because we want to bring about a radical improvement in the protection of the environment. Specifically, what is involved is the conversion of the Prague and the central Bohemian region to gas. This task can be resolved by using Iranian natural gas (which the Czechoslovak side will ensure) in the southern oblasts of the USSR, and by delivering a fractional quantity of Soviet natural gas via the existing gas pipeline to the CSSR. The Soviet side has promised to make a particularly thorough study of the technical aspects of this project by the middle of this year at the latest. I am convinced that the aforementioned plan will be fulfilled after that, for our Soviet partner is also determined to contribute to solving our ecological problems.

Stepan on Role of Science in Restructuring

AU2102090589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Report by Stanislav Stibor and Rostislav Valasek: "The Authority of Science Increases Through Its Contribution to Society; A Meeting of Officials From the Prague Institutions of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences"]

[Excerpts] Prague (our correspondents)—Officials from the Prague institutions of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (CSAV) met on Wednesday [15 February] with representatives of the CPCZ city committee. In a frank conversation they discussed the current topical tasks of science.

The meeting was opened by Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee. He emphasized that the contemporary changes taking place in our society require from science in our country, from authorities known both at home and abroad, and all others, more emphatic and self-instigated participation in the solving of problems. [passage omitted] The period requires that in all workplaces an honorable dialogue be conducted on how without honest, good, and progressive work we cannot overcome our deficiencies. [passage omitted] In CSAV workplaces the process of democratization must also be pushed through more forcefully, old habits must be eliminated, and life rationalized so that the maximum time can be devoted to actual scientific work. [passage omitted] The period also requires courage in the field of science, among other things, to overcome barriers such as scientific sectarianism. On the other hand, opening up science to the general public and helping to create space for implementing its results in social practice is also needed. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, Comrade Miroslav Stepan praised the frankness of the discussion that ought to be continued in further meetings. He also challenged the officials of scientific organizations present and their collectives to offer opposing views to the program of the social and economic development of Prague now in preparation and to actively participate in the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress.

Haman, Lenart on Organizations, Independence

AU2102121589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Feb 89 p 2

["tik"-signed report: "To Conduct a Frank Conversation; CPCZ Central Bohemian Regional Committee Convened"]

[Excerpts] Prague (our correspondent and CTK)—The CPCZ Central Bohemian Regional Committee debated on Thursday [16 February] the tasks of the regional party organization during preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress and while ensuring the socioeconomic development of the region.

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the regional committee, delivered the report of the CPCZ regional committee Presidium. As for topical internal political developments, he stated that the main thing is first and foremost to conduct a frank and honest dialogue with all the people who stand on the platform of socialism and constitutional order. However, emphasis on a political solution and on respecting the pluralism of opinions does not mean tolerating the violation of the law, provocation, or attempts at psychological terror against honest people. The laws must be valid for all without discrimination, and it is the duty of the appropriate state organs to look after their maintenance. [passage omitted]

Comrade Jozef Lenart also spoke at the discussion. In the part of his speech devoted to socioeconomic development he stated that the majority of workers are united in the opinion that we can solve the problems in the development of the national economy by restructuring. At the same time, it points out that the changes implemented in management are not very effective in the interim, and that the management of organizations is insufficiently prepared for greater independence. Meanwhile, these opinions indicate that little has changed and that little is changing, especially inside enterprises, institutes, and organizations. [passage omitted]

In another part of his speech Jozef Lenart underlined the idea that we support the complete manifestation and implementation of the range of ideas and interests of all classes, social groups, and strata so that their originality and mutually enriching competitiveness are displayed. A fruitful and effective base for this is the National Front, which we want not only to regenerate but also to elevate to a qualitatively higher level in the sense of the new requirements. It is and can be a basis for a creative dialogue from which we are excluding no one; we are opening the doors to it to everyone. However, those who oppose socialist restructuring close the doors themselves. Our party will tirelessly convince and win broad sections of the public for the revolutionary road of restructuring with the knowledge that we have no alternative.

Ministry Spokesman on Possible Israeli Ties

LD2402063989 Prague CTK in English 1943 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak attitude towards Israel was expounded by Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ivan Kulhanek at a press conference on major lines of Czechoslovak foreign policy before next year's congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia here today.

He said that Czechoslovakia had recognized Israel from its founding. After the June 1967 war it broke off diplomatic relations because Israel occupied Arab territories and refuses to return them.

"We consider the non-existence of these relations to be an abnormal state of affairs. They can be resumed but we expect the Israeli side to take a constructive attitude to the settlement of the Middle East conflict and its crucial point—the Palestinian issue. Czechoslovakia recognizes the justified security interests of Israel, just as of the other Middle East countries, but it cannot agree that these interests serve as a pretext to deny the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and they they be implemented at the expense of the justified interests of neighbouring Arab countries. We are always ready to talk with all leaders who are interested in constructive solutions to all problems of a Middle East settlement," the spokesman said.

He announced that Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen would visit Czechoslovakia February 28-March 1, at the invitation of the Czechoslovak foreign minister.

Hungarian Relations Positively Appraised

AU2102101389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Feb 89 p 2

[Gejza Vilcek article in the "We Comment" column: "Do Not Wait; Act"]

[Text] When reviewing the development of bilateral Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations over the past 2-3 decades, we come across two periods in which these relations received an effective boost and registered a marked development. The two periods are connected with processes in the course of which one of our countries had to grapple with the consequences of a social and economic crisis. This was the case in 1956, when after the tragic events in Hungary, deliveries to the Hungarian People's Republic were not only sharply increased, but when new, and to this day enduring, relations were established in economic cooperation. Social contacts developed, and not only between organizations. At that time, individual travel between our countries also began to develop. The period of consolidation after 1968 was no different. Most of the partnership relations still in existence came into being precisely then; economic cooperation acquired new dimensions, and the first cooperation relations came into being. Whereas in the first case Hungarian needs and a Czechoslovak initiative to help friends were involved, in the second case it was Czechoslovak needs and a Hungarian initiative. Both periods represent important milestones in the development of relations founded on the idea of socialist internationalism and mutual assistance.

But why do such leaps in the deepening of relations always come after crisis events? Why do they resolve only the consequences of crisis situations? At the same time it is obvious to both sides that a well-functioning and dynamic cooperation, that the mutual interconnection of the economies and social efforts could and should also be an instrument for forestalling difficulties. This, as a rule, was forgotten when a successful development of relations reached a certain point of satisfaction with results, and when the stimuli that the development of relations elicited stopped working. This caused indolence and, subsequently, stagnation, or the growth of relations that did not make use of the existing possibilities and untapped potential.

The meeting of the general secretaries of our parties, Milos Jakes and Karoly Grosz, in Prague on 15 February showed how important permanent dynamism in mutual relations of the communist parties and allied states is. This time the meeting served to stimulate the intensification of relations and make them more dynamic not after some sort of a crisis or economic collapse, but rather at a time when developments do not dictate, but only suggest, making use of the untapped potential in cooperation. Such a course is a sign of the fact that the new political thinking has become established, that partners are not waiting to see how processes will develop with our neighbors, but rather that they are seeking and finding the sustainment of mutual cooperation in the process of change and are seeking ways to make socialist economies and the democratization of the socialist social order more effective. Instead of waiting, they are acting.

It is no coincidence that the facts that untapped potential has not been made use of in mutual relations, that long-term cooperation has to be elevated to a qualitatively higher level, and that new forms of cooperation must be applied more energetically, were given a prominent place in the joint communique and in the talks. It is necessary to intensify specialization and cooperation, scientific-technical collaboration, expand direct relations among economic organizations, accelerate work on the founding of joint ventures, cooperate on third markets, and make partnership relations between regions and cities more effective. The partners also did not leave out of their joint communique the importance of civic relations, the exchange of cultural values, the improvement of tourism-related conditions, and cooperation in the nationalities' policy for this to strengthen the friendship between the peoples of the two countries. The present is bringing new, heretofore unknown elements of development. For example, the Czechoslovak experience of the functioning of a political system with several parties could be valuable to Hungary, and the Hungarian experience with the harmfulness of disharmony in the process of political and economic reforms when progress in one of the two spheres is faster than in the other, could be valuable to us.

It is significant that the stimuli for making the development of cooperation dynamic are coming into being and the exchange of experience is taking place in the process of restructuring in both our countries, and that it is inspired by new thinking and not dictated by unfavorable circumstances.

Measures Stiffen Law, Order Regulations

AU2102103989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Decision of the National Councils' Presidiums; On Misdemeanors Against Measures Aimed at Strengthening Public Order"]

[Text] **Prague-Bratislava—At its meeting on Friday the Presidium of the Czech National Council (CNR) adopted and promulgated legal regulations on misdemeanors of the CNR Presidium concerning measures aimed at strengthening public order as follows:**

In accordance with Article 121, paragraph 3 of Constitutional Law No 143 of 1968 on the Czechoslovak federation, the CNR Presidium has passed the following legal regulation:

Article 1

A person who organizes a prohibited or unannounced public gathering, rally, or procession (hereafter "public gathering"), takes part in such a public gathering, or fails to comply with the call to dissolve it or leave it, or who in connection with it disturbs public order in another way, commits a misdemeanor against regulations aimed at strengthening public order.

Article 2

A fine of up to Kcs10,000 may be imposed for a misdemeanor mentioned in Article 1.

Article 3

An on-the-spot-fine of up to Kcs500 may be imposed for a misdemeanor mentioned in Article 1.

Article 4

Unless this legal regulation provides otherwise, a misdemeanor and the investigation of it are subject to general regulations.

Article 5

The provisions of Article 3 of Law No 126 of 1968 on some temporary measures aimed at strengthening public order are amended in such a way that they apply only to an infringement of the decision on suspending activity or disbanding voluntary organizations.

Article 6

This legal regulation takes effect on the day of its promulgation.

(Signed) Kempny

(Signed) Pitra

In accordance with Article 121, paragraph 4 of Constitutional Law No 143 of 1968 on the Czechoslovak federation, the legal regulation of the CNR Presidium will be submitted to the next CNR session for approval.

x x x

On Friday [17 February] the Presidium of the Slovak National Council (SNR) discussed, approved, and promulgated an identical legal regulation connected with the protection and strengthening of public order. It will submit it to the 13th SNR session.

x x x

On 17 February the CNR and the SNR Presidiums adopted legal regulations on misdemeanors against measures aimed at strengthening public order. The need to issue these legal regulations has arisen from the recent acts by antisocialist groups that considerably violated public order and the security of citizens in the center of Prague. The reaction of the public in the mass information media and at worksites unequivocally attests to the fact that the overwhelming majority of citizens disapprove of them and demand the adoption of more effective measures to strengthen public order.

The existing laws issued 20 years ago that permit prosecution for similar misdemeanors do not provide for the effective prosecution of these antisocial acts. It was therefore necessary to explicitly state that a misdemeanor against measures to strengthen public order can take place not only at public gatherings banned or disbanded by national committees, but also at such public gatherings, with the exceptions set by law, that have not been announced to a national committee in advance. It was also necessary to newly define and specify the act constituting a misdemeanor in such a way that a misdemeanor may be constituted also by the conscious participation in a banned, unannounced, or disbanded gathering, as well as by disobeying a call to disband an unauthorized gathering or disobeying an appeal to the gathering's participants to disperse.

In the interest of a more effective punishment of the aforementioned misdemeanora, the maximum fine has been raised from Kcs3,000 to Kcs10,000, and also the existing maximum on-the-spot fine has been raised from Kcs100 to Kcs500.

The basic aim of the adopted measures in the sphere of public order is to strengthen the protection of the rights and justified interests of our citizens and thus contribute to the further development under the conditions of the restructuring of the economic and social life of our society.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 8-15 Feb

AU1702152889

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 9 to 16 February report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Ladislav Adamec and Ivan Knotek spoke at a government session on the situation in the printing industry, in Prague on 9 February. (RUDE PRAVO 11 February p 2)

Jozef Lenart, in the presence of Miroslav Stepan, received Lhamsurengiyn Lantuu, the Ulaanbaatar party chief, in Prague on 10 February. (RUDE PRAVO 11 February p 2)

Jan Fojtik attended a session of the CPCZ Central Committee commission for culture and the arts which was chaired by Miroslav Stepan, in Prague on 13 February. (RUDE PRAVO 14 February p 2)

Jozef Lenart, opened a seminar on biotechnology which was attended by Frantisek Hanus, in Prague on 13 February. (RUDE PRAVO 14 February p 1)

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Alois Indra, was present at a Federal Assembly session adopting new legislation against breaches of public order, in Prague on 14 February. (RUDE PRAVO 15 February p 1)

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Jan Fojtik, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Stepan, and Karel Urbanek, welcomed Karoly Grosz on his arrival in the CSSR for a 1-day working visit, in Prague on 15 February. (RUDE PRAVO 16 February p 1)

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Jan Fojtik, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Stepan, and Karel Urbanek, bade farewell to Karoly Grosz at the airport at the end of his 1-day working visit to the CSSR, in Prague on 15 February. (RUDE PRAVO 16 February p 1)

Gustav Husak, CSSR president, received Peter Colotka, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador to France, in Prague on 9 February. (RUDE PRAVO 10 February p 2) He received Vratislav Vajnar, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations and other international organizations in Geneva, in Prague on 9 February. (RUDE PRAVO 10 February p 2)

Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, chaired a session of the CPCZ Central Committee Legal Commission, in Prague on 15 February. (RUDE PRAVO 16 February p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received the leadership of the Slovak Revival Party to thank it for its support of CPCZ policy, in Bratislava on 13 February. (RUDE PRAVO 14 February p 2) He visited an aluminium plant to inquire about modernization progress, in Ziar nad Hronom on 15 February. (RUDE PRAVO 16 February p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Slovak SR, paid a working visit to West Slovak institutions, in Bratislava on 14 February. (PRAVDA 15 February p 1) He inspected the building site of the Slovak National Theater, in Bratislava on 15 February. (RUDE PRAVO 16 February p 2) He received Canadian Ambassador Mawhinney, in Bratislava on 15 February. (PRAVDA 16 February p 1)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, chaired a session of Prague party functionaries, in Prague on 8 February. (VECERNI PRAHA 9 February p 1) He attended a meeting on restructuring in Prague retailing, in Prague on 9 February. (VECERNI PRAHA 9 February p 2) He addressed a meeting of Prague representatives from the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, in Prague on 15 February. (RUDE PRAVO 16 February p 1)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, chairman of the Czech SR Committee for Party Work, and chairman of the Czech SR National Front Central Committee, met with the leadership of the CSSR Socialist Party, in Prague on 15 February. (RUDE PRAVO 16 February p 2) He chaired a session of the Czech SR National Front Presidium, in Prague on 15 February. (RUDE PRAVO 16 February p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council (URO), presented the Order of Victorious February to Ludvik Opletal, in Prague on 13 February. (RUDE PRAVO 14 February p 2) He chaired a consultation of regional trade union chiefs, in Prague on 14 February. (PRACE 15 February p 1) He visited the Skoda car factory, in Mlada Boleslav on 15 February. (RUDE PRAVO 16 February p 2)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee, attended a ceremony for the best CSSR radio amateurs, in Brno on 12 February. (RUDE PRAVO 13 February p 5)

Miroslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, addressed an aktiv of Slovak builders, in Bratislava on 9 February. (RUDE PRAVO 10 February p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, chaired a meeting of agricultural secretaries, in Prague on 14 February. (RUDE PRAVO 15 February p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, attended a reception given by Hamid Reza Hoseyni, Iranian ambassador to the CSSR, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Islamic revolution, in Prague on 10 February. (RUDE PRAVO 11 February p 2) He received Bhaupatray M. Oza, Indian ambassador to the CSSR, for talks on the present situation in the development of CSSR-Indian relations, in Prague on 14 February. (RUDE PRAVO 15 February p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister for national defense, presented the Order of Labor to Major General Emil Liska, deputy minister of national defense, in Prague on 9 February. (RUDE PRAVO 10 February p 2)

Human Rights Groups Demand Havel's Release

AU2702130489 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] In the GDR, a total of 171 peace and human rights groups have demanded the release of CSSR dramatist and civil rights campaigner Havel. Last week he was sentenced in connection with the demonstrations in Prague in January, he was sentenced last week to 9 months imprisonment with a strict regimen. In addition, in a resolution adopted at a meeting that was held in Greifswald over the weekend [25-26 February] under the motto "Peace Concretely," it was demanded that all those who have been imprisoned for observing their democratic rights be released from prison, and that all other punitive measures be lifted.

Citizen Shot, Killed During Attempted Escape

AU2302114489 Hamburg BILD in German 22 Feb 89 p 1

[Report by W. Kenntemich and R. Voelkel: "One Dead—at the Wall the Shooting Goes On"]

[Text] Bonn—On the night of 6 February, members of the GDR People's Police shot 22-year-old GDR citizen Chris Gueffroy when he attempted to flee to West Berlin. They severely injured his friend Christian Gaudian (20) with gunshots to his legs; they fired about a dozen shots.

These facts have now been investigated by the Berlin Senate and reported by Bonn. Originally, East Berlin denied any attempted escape and claimed that only a red signal flare was fired.

Therefore, Ottfried Hennig, state secretary in the Ministry of Inner-German Relations, "urgently" called for the continued existence of the Salzgitter registration office, which deals with political offenses in the GDR. Because: "A total of 1,232 acts of violence were recorded in the GDR last year; in 29 instances firearms were used and 24 of these cases took place in the second half of the year; thus the trend is increasing. In addition, 1,163 arrests for political reasons were reported."

Rights Group Says Two Killed

LD2402101489 Hamburg DPA in German 1342 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—According to the International Society for Human Rights [ISRH] during an escape attempt at the Berlin Wall at the beginning of February a second GDR citizen was killed. The organization stated today that they had received a letter from East Berlin from the "relatives and friends of Chris Gueffroy and Christian Gaudian." It was dated 8 February and had reached the society by a circuituous route.

According to the letter, on 6 February the two men had tried to swim across the canal from the Baumschulenweg in East Berlin to West Berlin district of Neukoelln. Gueffroy was hit in the water by seven shots and died immediately. Relatives were allowed to identify the body 2 days later.

The day before the relatives were informed that the 20-year-old man had been arrested and sentenced to 18-months imprisonment in a summary trial. According to the letter 20-year-old Gaudian has also been shot. The ISRH stated that further information on his death had not been released. [passage omitted]

Journalism Groups Back Rushdie, Condemn Threat

Writers Association Lends Support

LD2402102789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1530 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the GDR Writers Association has learned of the activities concerning British author Rushdie with great anxiety and outrage; it assures him of its solidarity. Threats of murder and murder itself are detestable and illegal, even in disputes concerning the literary word, says the presidium's announcement.

Organization Condemns Threats

LD2402103389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The P.E.N. Center [international writers' organization] of the GDR condemns the decision by the Iranian leadership to put a price on the head of the British-Indian author Salman Rushdie, the author of the book "The Satanic Verses." This order to murder not only violates the basic principles of the Koran, but also discredits Iran and the Muslim religion. Suitable steps had to be taken worldwide to save Rushdie's life, says the statement from the GDR's P.E.N. Center.

West Berlin, FRG Citizens Tried in GDR Court

AU2402151889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The trial of West Berlin citizens Michael Maass and Marino Blankenhagen, as well as FRG citizen Paul Boehm has begun in the kreis court of Potsdam city. Last November they were arrested trying to commit subversive criminal acts against the GDR. Moreover, Maass and Blankenhagen have played a prominent role in the past, involving illegal border crossings and other provocative acts at the GDR border on the West Berlin side. Maass, Blankenhagen, and Boehm are facing charges of organized gang crimes, under Paragraphs 132 and 213 of the Criminal Code.

FRG Citizens Sentenced

LD2402152689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1408 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Potsdam city district court of Friday sentenced West Berlin inhabitants Michael Maass and Marino Blankenhagen and FRG Citizen Paul Boehm to 6, 4, and 5 years imprisonment for serious cases of organized crime under paragraphs 132 and 213 of the Penal Code. Maass and Blankenhagen have previous criminal convictions.

Dividing their tasks, Maass, Blankenhagen and Boehm attempted last November to carry out subversive actions against the GDR. Other crimes of this nature were planned. It was also demonstrated at the trial that FRG citizen Boehm had deviated from the transit route for the purpose of preparing criminal actions. They were inspired and supported in their subversive crimes by key workers of the hostile organization "13th August Working Group," which is tolerated in West Berlin and is known to the courts. The private "Mazda" car used in the crime, for example is owned by Jens Bernhardt, member and advisor of the "working group." The culprits had wide-ranging malicious material from the hostile organization, aimed at the socialist order of the GDR, in the car. In the several-days of the trial the statements of the accused and available documentary evidence showed that the serious provocations carried out against the GDR state frontier by Maass and Blankenhagen in the period August-October 1988 on several occasions and in conjunction with others were performed with the support of key staff of the criminal "13th August Working Group."

Owing to their hardened hostile attitude to the GDR, Maass and Blankenhagen found allies for their subversive activities among activists of the "Working Group" such as Hildebrandt, Schumm, Doppel, and others. They were, for example. Encouraged by them to penetrate sovereign GDR territory in a provocative manner on a number of occasions and to throw objects at GDR frontier security forces. The trial of Maass, Blankenhagen, and Boehm vividly demonstrated that notorious subversive organizations, allied with secret services such at the "13th August Working Group," serve criminal elements which do not engage in regular work, in order to repeatedly make the headlines in a spectacular fashion above all in the Spinger press, and to trigger off malicious campaigns against the GDR.

FRG's Spaeth Makes Official Visit, Holds Talks

Received by Honecker

LD2402131689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1207 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today met with Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg and deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, at the Council of State headquarters in Berlin. The guest is in the GDR on an official visit at Erich Honecker's invitation.

The talks took place in an open atmosphere. Current international issues, relations between the two German states as well as the state of and prospects for cooperation between the GDR and Baden-Wuerttemberg were discussed.

The parties pointed to important transformations in the international arena and to the change started for improving the international situation. There was agreement on the necessity of making peace, detente, and disarmament irreversible in order to banish the danger of a nuclear inferno forever. In accordance with their particular obligation to peace, both German states have an active contribution to make to this. This corresponds to their avowed belief that never again should war but only peace emanate from German soil.

Erich Honecker and Lother Spaeth stressed that, after the start of nuclear disarmament by the treaty on the removal of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles it is mainly a matter of steps such as halving of the Soviet and the U.S. strategic offensive weapons, the global banning of chemical weapons, and the drastic reduction of conventional forces and arms from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Erich Honecker pointed out that the GDR supports the far-reaching initiative by the USSR on unilateral disarmament moves. The unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops from the GDR will begin this year. Erich Honecker elucidated the GDR's decision to reduce unilaterally the GDR's National People's Army by 10,000 men and defense expenditure by 10 percent by the end of 1990. This decision is based on efforts to make a constructive contribution to the disarmament process, as well as showing goodwill and readiness on conventional disarmament by concrete actions.

It is to be expected, Erich Honecker stated, that the FRG and NATO will react constructively to the initiatives of the socialist states. Not nuclear deterrent but mutual security and the achievement of non-attack capability by the two military alliances are what the times call for. In this context Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR welcomes the conclusion of the Vienna CSCE meeting. It is particularly important that the path has been cleared for negotiations on conventional disarmament and further security and confidence-building measures. Both German states should make a constructive contribution to this.

The GDR is strongly in favor of including tactical nuclear weapons in Europe in the disarmament process. The plans pursued in the FRG and in NATO to modernize must be prevented because this not only endangers further disarmament but starts up rearmament.

The GDR is in favor of making German soil free of nuclear weapons. In this context Erich Honecker pointed out that the GDR regards its proposals on a nuclear free corridor and a zone of confidence and security as well as a chemical weapons-free zone in Europe as being very topical. Implementing these things could contribute to confidence-building and support comprehensive solutions. Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR will continue to do everything to advance disarmament, detente, and dialogue. It is convinced that reason and realism will gain the upper hand over all concepts of the balance of terror.

Erich Honecker and Lothar Spaeth are of the opinion that both German states could make a contribution to detente in Europe by developing their relations. There was agreement between the two sides that, since Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in September 1987, there has been welcome progress in relations between the two states. The Basic Treaty and the Joint Communique of 8 September 1987 are the firm basis for further positive results.

Erich Honecker stressed, however, that it cannot be overlooked that attempts from the FRG to interfere in the GDR's internal affairs are piling up. Such efforts put a strain on relations. The GDR Will continue to secure its frontiers in a manner correpsonding to its interests and the interests of its citizens. There will be further progress in relations between the GDR and the FRG if both sides are guided by respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference.

Erich Honecker and Lothar Spaeth stated with satisfaction that relations between the GDR and Baden-Wuerttemberg have developed an all-round way, particularly in the economic area, since the first visit by the prime minsiter of Baden-Wuerttemberg to the GDR in May 1986. They agreed to extend these relations further to mutual advantage.

Taking part in the talks were: Dr Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, and deputy chairman of the Council of State; State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the chairman of the Council of State's chancery; Karl Seidel, director of the FRG department at the Foreign Ministry; Hans-Peter Mengele and Manfred Zach, heads of departments in Baden-Wuerttemberg's Ministry of State; and the head of the FRG's Permanent Mission, Dr Franz Bertele.

Honecker Hosts Luncheon

LD2402134389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1338 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today gave a luncheon in Berlin in honour of his guest Lother Spaeth Prime Minister of Baden- Wuerttemberg, deputy chairman of the CDU. Other members of the party and state leadership of the GDR as well as figures accompanying the FRG politician were present at the occasion in the Palais unter den Linden.

Participating in the occasion were SED Central Committee Politburo members Hermann Axen, Guenther Kleiber, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger and Gunter Schabowski; candidate member of the politburo Inge Lange, as well as Ministers Dr Gerhard Beil and Prof Hans-Joachim Boehme; Secretary of the Council of State Heinz Eichler; State Secretaries Frank-Joachim Herrmann; Dr Alexander Schalck-Golodowski; and Dr Klaus Stubenrauch, as well as leading members of the GDR Foreign Ministry. Amongst the guests was the head of the FRG's permanent mission in the GDR, Dr Franz Bertele.

Spaeth Addresses News Conference

LD2402140689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1425 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Immediately after his meeting with Erich Honecker, Prime Minister Lothar Spaeth gave a press conference today to GDR and Foreign journalists in Berlin's International Press Center. He pointed out that this is his third visit to see the chairman of the Council of State, and their fourth meeting in total. He also met with the chairman of the GDR Council of State in the Federal Republic during his 1987 visit.

We held a comprehensive exchange of opinions on issues of general interest, Lothar Spaeth said. On the issue of securing peace and disarmament policy, questions of the state of inter-German relations in the most varied of areas were discussed primarily. The question of economic, scientific and technical cooperation was a very special area, an area which was mainly discussed during his last visit after the Leipzig Fair. It was then agreed to increase cooperation in these areas. They are now able to state that there are already thoroughly positive results. For example, trade between the Federal Republic and the GDR last year remained at about the same level, while Baden-Wuerttemberg's share rose by 25 percent.

That shows that a whole range of activities has resulted, the prime minister stressed. It was agreed to increase these aspects in economic cooperation with medium-sized firms in the technological area as well. With regard to scientific cooperation—the next thing would be an agreement between the universities of Karl-Marx-Stadt and Stuttgart—there is a whole series of contacts in respect of universities and research that they want to formalize. We mainly dealt with this area because we are of the opinion that many things can be significantly increased which also benefits international exchanges and exchanges between academics from both sides, Lothar Spaeth stated.

Baden-Wuerttemberg has a 30 percent share in projects resulting from the scientific and technical agreement between the two German states. This was also a point of emphasis of the topics he discussed with Erich Honecker up to the question of closer cooperation in exchanging experience in management.

In response to his question on travel, the general secretary stated that even before the latest decree the regulations were applied relatively flexibly. There is no reason to be concerned that after the decree the mode of application would change. Statistics for January clearly showed that the figures continue to rise. He does not yet have the figures for February but he gave an assurance that the familiar line from the past would continue in like manner.

On the continuation of the process of detente and disarmament, the prime minister said that it must be stated first of all that the INF treaty was, of course, a breakthrough. Now interest is concentrated on two areas: on the START negotiations, which he hopes will be taken up again swiftly after the change of presidents in the United States, and on the conventional area, from which, of course, everyone hopes—that is our conclusion, too—that Vienna will lead to a swift process on the conventional side. This is also connected with the further development of the issue of short-range missiles. There are intense discussions taking place on this.

The question is being posed on both sides as to what goals are achievable. He is in favor of approaching this subject very soberly and cautiously, and not in isolation. The conventional side cannot be separated from the question of how progress is to be made in reducing short-range and battlefield nuclear weapons. The Federal Republic is very interested in NATO coming to a united and balanced concept over the next few months on the basis of the 1967 Harmel Report, that is—the idea that security and dialogue must be linked with as many constructive elements as possible.

On economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, the prime minister went on to remark that he is in favor of pragmatic cooperation to mutual advantage. In his opinion, we are on the way to an internationalization of the economy as a whole and to an international division of labor. If one considers what is being set into motion by the development in the EEC alone, and what significance this has for medium-sized firms in Baden-Wuerttemberg, for example, where the export rate in the case of many medium-sized firms tends toward 70-80 percent, then one can also think about whether there are not many areas where one could achieve forms of cooperation advantageous to both sides in inter-German cooperation.

In response to a question on a supposed death at the wall on 6 February, Spaeth said that he had raised this question. The general secretary told him that he is not responsible for certain reports in the Federal Republic. He had had the case examined and in the talks he had pointed to the statement by Defense Minister Kessler that there was no order to shoot on the Wall.

In response to a further question from journalists on disarmament, Spaeth replied that the preparation of further disarmament steps must be approached jointly. The next step always must be conceived with great patience. Spaeth spoke of a surfeit of arms in the conventional area and added that there are good statements on this both by the Soviet general secretary and on the part of the GDR, which intends to do a whole series of things unilaterally. The concept on which one could agree must be to create security and stability in Europe with less weapons. Not least because we all know what great chances of survival the Germans in both states would have if there really were a conflict there.

On the question of what role the creation of the single common market of the European Community would play in relations between the two German states, Spaeth said that it would depend on both sides trying to exploit technical and economic cooperation. It would be a great pity if this entire process of development in the EEC were not to run parallel to increased economic cooperation in East-West relations. He thought that in inter-German relations in particular the possibility should be used to take up the new opportunities of a strengthened European single market through cooperation. The extension of cultural relations was also discussed. The prime minister said that the talks would be continued in the next few weeks between experts from the GDR and Baden-Wuerttemberg.

Mittag Receives Spaeth

LD2402144289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1540 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of SED, and deputy chairman of the GDR's Council of State, received on Thursday Dr Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of the FRG state of Baden-Wuerttemberg and deputy chairman of the CDU, at present on a visit to the GDR.

Going on from the prior meeting between Lothar Spaeth and Erich Honecker, Guenter Mittag and Lothar Spaeth discussed the further expansion of economic relations between the GDR and FRG, in particular with regard to Baden-Wuerttemberg. The interlocutors made a positive evaluation on the development of trade and economic relations between the GDR and Baden-Wuerttemberg. They have taken on a dynamic development. The joint trade turnover reached some 1 million [units not given] in 1988, which represented an increase of some 25 percent compared to the previous year. This is not only a matter of quantity, but it is also an expression in particular of the long-standing stable economic and trade relations between the foreign trade enterprises and the

combines in the GDR and firms in the state of Baden-Wuerttemberg. These also include large concerns as well as smaller and medium-size firms, with whom whereby there are business relations with over 600 firms and trade enterprises in that state.

Guenter Mittag said that the results achieved in trade and economic relations confirm that the talks between Erich Honecker and Lothar Spaeth in previous years had achieved tangible impetus for the development of economic relations, and they have developed to mutual advantage. Such an impetus had undoubtedly also emanated from today's talks.

A continuous implementation of the decisions made in the joint communique during Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG is proving itself as an expandable basis for the development of trade and economic relations with Baden-Wuerttemberg. Guenter Mittag said that—proceeding from the agreements between the GDR and FRG on cooperation in science and technology—the national economy of the GDR and the firms of Baden-Wuerttemberg possess the prerequisites to continuously shape economic relations at a qualitatively high level.

Lothar Spaeth, for his part, announced interest in the development of cooperation which would be very important for Baden-Wuerttemberg's pronounced export structure. At the same time, he expressed himself happy with the cooperation, already started, in the area of science and technology in the implementation of the agreement made on that subject between the GDR and the FRG.

The interlocutors concurred that the expansion of trade and economic relations, including scientific and technical cooperation between the GDR and the Federal state of Baden-Wuerttemberg is full of prospects. Seventy-five firms from Baden-Wuerttemberg with their goods will take part in the forthcoming spring trade fair in Leipzig.

Also taking part in the discussion on the side of the GDR were Gerhard Beil, Minister of Foreign Trade; Alexander Schalk-Golodkowski, state secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Trade; Karol Seidel, departmental head at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; and on the FRG side, Hans-Peter Mengle, ministry official; Walter Weik, personal consultant; as well as Dr Franz Bertele, head of the FRG permanent mission to the GDR.

Honecker Receives FRG Senate President Voscherau

LD2502213689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1151 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, on Friday received Henning Voscherau [SPD], president of the Senate and first mayor of the free Hanseatic city of Hamburg, for a talk. The meeting proceeded in an open atmosphere. The two officials exchanged views on the international situation on relations between the two German States, and between the GDR and Hamburg.

The two sides agreed that there is presently nothing more important than the preservation of peace and disarmament. In the nuclear age this is the main task of all policy. Erich Honecker pointed out that the two German states bear a great responsibility for peace. Their obligation to peace requires active work toward disarmament and detente. The contribution of the two German states to the agreement on the elimination of medium-range missiles has been highly assessed worldwide. They must now work for a reduction in strategic offensive weapons, a global ban on chemical weapons, and a drastic reduction in the conventional area.

Erich Honecker stated that the GDR supports the USSR's unilateral disarmament measures. This year the withdrawal of important Soviet troop units from the GDR will begin. In order to support its will for disarmament through specific deeds, the GDR has decided to reduce the National People's Army by 10,000 men by the end of 1990 and to reduce defense expenditure by 10 percent. It must be hoped that the FRG and NATO, too, will make a contribution to disarmamemt and will not introduce fresh arms escalation through decisions on the modernization of nuclear short-range missiles.

The GDR welcomes the successful conclusion of the Vienna CSCE meeting. It hopes for a constructive outcome to the conferences on conventional disarmament and confidence-building. The GDR will make its contribution to this. Erich Honecker stressed the vital importance of reducing and finally eliminating nuclear short-range missiles for the two German states. Negotiations on this too, should start. The GDR strongly supports making German soil free from nuclear weapons.

Erich Honecker and Henning Voscherau concurred in stressing the importance of the proposals on a nuclear weapons-free corridor, a zone of trust and security, and a zone free of chemical weapons, as drafted by the joint SPD and SED working group.

In the talk the two sides stressed that relations between the GDR and the FRG are an important stabilizing element of the CSCE process. Henning Voscherau pointed out that these relations were given fresh impetus by Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in September 1987. The two sides praised the progress reached since then.

Erich Honecker stated that there would be progress in relations between the GDR and the FRG if both sides are guided by realism, adherence to treaties, and goodwill, as well as an imminent settlement of outstanding questions such as the Elbe border and others. Experience shows that attempts at intervention merely harms the steady development of relations.

Erich Honecker and Henning Voscherau praised the traditionally good relations between the GDR and Hamburg and stressed their intention to further expand these relations to mutual advantage. This is also served by the inclusion of Hamburg in local border traffic with the GDR.

The talk was attended by Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the chancellery of the State Council chairman and secretary of state; Karl Seidel, head of the FRG Department at the Foreign Ministry; Senate Director Walter Schmidt; Dr Reimer Rohde, head of the Senate press office; and Dr Franz Bertele, head of the FRG permanent mission.

FRG Defense Minister Criticized on Disarmament

AU2402200489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Feb 89 p 2

[Editorial by "Hue": "Criteria of Comparison"]

[Text] Figures concerning the comparison of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact have been on the table for 3 weeks. The statement of the Defense Ministers Committee of the socialist military coalition, which now is an official UN document, is known to show an approximate parity regarding the ratio of arms and forces in Europe. Nothing is left of the West's much-cited story about the Warsaw Pact's excessive superiority.

FRG Defense Minister Scholz, who has used this thesis ad nauseam, now claims that the point is "not just the problem of directly effective tanks against tanks, aircraft against aircraft, but the point is qualities."

Well, let us consider the quality: The quality of the threat consists for the Warsaw Pact states in NATO's capacity to launch a conventional and nuclear surprise attack by its armored infantry, its offensive air forces in which NATO is superior, and its strong naval formations in the Mediterranean and in the North Atlantic. That has been rehearsed for years particularly in the "Autumn Forge" large-scale maneuvers, as well as in the Europe-wide secret "Wintex-Cimex" command post exercises that begin in 3 days. In addition, aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean or missile-equipped cruisers in the Atlantic have weapons systems the purpose of which is not only the declared protection of supply lines.

A qualitative threat also emanates from the practice of permanent and unrestricted low-altitude flights which only make sense if their purpose is practicing an attack against the socialist states, as well as, of course, from the insistence on nuclear weapons, which has been corroborated in recent days. It is very unlikely that they will be used on NATO's own territory.

We do not hear NATO circles considering cuts in these qualities of NATO, comparable, for example, to a strict orientation toward defense structures according to the Warsaw Pact model. On the contrary: Plans are being pursued to modernize all types of offensive and first-strike weapons, be it new KOLAS [complementary air defense system] missiles or multiple launch rocket systems which can also be equipped with nuclear warheads, both with ranges of less than 500 kilometers.

To justify this, Scholz again resorts to untruthful statements: He said that the Soviet Union's military doctrine which "requires such a degree of military strength that one must always be capable to totally defeat the enemy on his own territory," must be overcome.

A defense minister should be expected to have expertise as a minimum prerequisite for his office. Almost 2 years ago, the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine was formulated. It demands the prevention of war as its objective. It demands that the Warsaw Pact states never and under no circumstances start military acts against a given country or an alliance of countries, and that they never be the first to use nuclear weapons. Defense is a principle. Weapons systems and structures must suffice to prevent a surprise attack and even make every attack hopeless. It will be organized in a way that any aggressor who were to succeed in entering our territory will be totally defeated.

However, Mr Scholz obviously cannot get along without imputations, so as to preserve enemy images in the FRG, justify armaments, and inhibit disarmament.

Human Rights Working Group With FRG Established

AU2302121789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This week, a working group which will deal with human rights in the confrontation between the two social systems was established by the Academy for Social Sciences attached to the SED Central Committee and the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, which is close to the SPD. The focus is planned to be interrelations between security, detente, and confidence-building in Europe and the implementation of human rights. During talks in Bonn, the Academy for Social Sciences was represented by scientists headed by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, and the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation by a working group led by Dr Wilhelm Bruns.

Leaders Celebrate USSR Army, Navy Anniversary

LD2502110989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1635 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Supreme Command of the Soviet Armed Forces in the GDR celebrated the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy with a festive event in Wuensdorf on Wednesday. A message of congratulations from the SED Central Committee, GDR State Council and Council of Ministers, signed by Erich Honecker and Willi Stoph, was received with tumultuous applause. The members of the Soviet Army warmly

greeted the Politburo members of the SED Central Committee Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of National Defense, Army General Erich Mielke, minister of State Security, and Erich Meuckenberger, president of the German-Soviet Friendship Society.

Among those taking their place with the guests in the Presidium were Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR; Army General Boris Snetkov Commander-in-Chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany; Col Gen Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the group; and Col Gen Vladimir Meretskov, the representative of the Commander-in-Chief of the Joint forces of the Warsaw Pact states in the National People's Army.

Army General Heinz Kessler conveyed a message of congratulations from the GDR party and state leadership. It states that in their combat-tested history, the Soviet armed forces have rendered indispensable services in the protection of the achievements of socialism and the safeguarding of peace. They are still totally dedicated to that mission today.

"The resolute activities of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states in implementing the comprehensive peace program of our socialist alliance of states makes a decisive contribution toward strengthening trust and security in Europe and the world," it states. "The first visible results strengthen our confidence that a change from confrontation to detente can be reached in international relations." The most recent proposals and unilateral measures announced by the USSR and other socialist fraternal countries were a courageous concession in the continuation of the disarmament process. The GDR's decisions regarding a significant reduction in its Armed Forces and defense expenditure are fully in keeping with this.

"Your day of honor today gives us an opportunity", it stated "to once again thank you and all the members of the Soviet Armed Forces in the GDR for your internationalist fulfillment of duty and close cooperation." They can be sure that the GDR's National People's Army will always reliably live up to its responsibility for the defense of socialism and preserving peace in Europe in the proven alliance with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies.

In his festive address Army General Boris Snetkov recalled that, after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, an army of the people was created for the first time in the history of mankind. The difficult days of February 1918 were followed by tests such as the struggle against the White Guards and interventions and the Great Patriotic War against the fascist aggressor, whom the Soviet soldiers—closely allied with the people and under the proven leadership of the party of Lenin—smashed with innumerable heroic deeds. The Soviet soldiers fulfilled their patriotic and internationalist duty also on GDR territory in this spirit. Shoulder-to-shoulder with the National People's Army and the other allied Armed Forces, they guaranteed the peaceful work of construction of their peoples.

The speaker thanked the poltiburo of the SED Central Committee, the government and Defense Ministry of the GDR as well as Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, personally for their constant care for and warm relations with the members of the group.

Honecker Greets Armed Forces

AU2402212989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 89 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, sent the following telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman:

Dear comrades!

On the 71st anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Army and Navy, we convey to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, the peoples, and all members of the USSR Armed Forces cordial congratulations.

For more than 7 decades now, the Soviet Armed Forces have proved to be a decisive factor in the defense of the Soviet people's revolutionary achievements. At the same time, they consider it their internationalist duty to reliably protect the socialist community and to ensure peace, in close cooperation with the Warsaw Pact allied armies.

The steps made by the socialist community—which are of exceptional importance—and in particular the USSR's activities, which are rich in initiative, have produced visible changes in the international climate. They have opened up new opportunities to give the disarmament process continuity, extend it to new areas, and make it irreversible. In observing its responsibility on the dividing line of the two social systems, the GDR will continue to actively contribute to the implementation of the common peace policy pursued by the socialist fraternal countries.

The constant strengthening of our friendship and affinity with Lenin's party and country, the further development of our relations which are unprecedented in their intensity and variety, will continue to be the basic concern of our party and country.

We wish you, dear comrades, your people, and all members of the USSR's glorious Armed Forces wholeheartedly much success in the further implementation of the CPSU's course for the perfection of socialism and in the struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace.

Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, GDR State Council chairman

Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman

Honecker Promotes, Appoints Lieutenant Generals
AU2402210189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Feb 89 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the occasion of the forthcoming 33d anniversary of the National People's Army, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council, promoted Major Generals Max Butzlaff, Guenter Lorenz, and Artur Seefeldt to the rank of lieutenant general.

Colonels Karl-Heinz Bartsch, Gerhard Seifert, Werner Siegmund, Manfred Thieme, and Henri Thunemann were appointed as major generals, and Captain Gerhard Mueller was appointed a rear admiral.

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister for National Defense; Colonel General Fritz Streletz, secretary of the GDR National Defense Council; and Wolfgang Herger, director of the Security Department of the SED Central Committee, were present.

Research Cooperation Agreement Signed With USSR
AU2502191989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND)—An agreement on the further cooperation between teaching and research facilities of the SED and CPSU Central Committees was concluded in Berlin on Wednesday [22 February]. It is based on the program of long-term cooperation in the area of social sciences, that was agreed upon by the two parties. The agreement was signed by Rectors Professor Rudolf G Janowski [name as published], Academy for Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, Professor Otto Reinhold, Academy for Social Sciences of the SED Central Committee, and Professor Kurt Tiedke, "Karl Marx" Party College of the SED Central Committee.

Daily Criticizes U.S. Space Weapons Program
AU2302152089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Feb 89 p 2

["ng" commentary: "Has SDI Been Abandoned?"]

[Text] Readers are asking whether the SDI program has now been abandoned. Of course not. In his first speech to Congress, U.S. President George Bush stated: "I will continue to pursue SDI." In the same speech, he announced that he will "carefully" reconsider the foreign and security policy of his country.

In other words: The reconsideration, which will probably be concluded at the beginning of May, is to bring final clarification as to the extent to which Washington will proceed with plans to militarize space. Then we will learn when and how negotiations on the 50-percent reduction of U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear potentials, with strict adherence to the ABM Treaty, will be continued. According to original plans, another round was to have started in Geneva on 15 February.

As the WALL STREET JOURNAL reported recently, Reagan's dream about a "star wars" system, which would make the United States invulnerable to intercontinental nuclear missiles, has meanwhile been abandoned as "unrealistic." During the past 6 years, $15 billion were wasted on this project. It has mainly been supported by enterprises that specialize in space technology and electronics companies, scientific institutions, and politicians, military experts, and mass media that are affiliated with these firms.

This "space mafia" is exerting twofold pressure on the administration. On the one hand, it wants to test the newly developed exotic weapons directly in space, which is a clear violation of the ABM Treaty concluded with the USSR in 1972. On the other hand, with such spectacular tests it hopes to increase the administration's willingness to provide further enormous sums for the project. In addition to that, it continues to stick to its course aimed at the quickest possible deployment of a space-based, "imperfect" antiballistic missile system. Planning experts in the Pentagon expect the first stage to be completed in the middle of the nineties, which would include about 150 killer satellites and 3,000 interceptor missiles. Estimated costs: $63 billion.

Washington is still far from abandoning the dangerous project aimed at extending the arms race to space. The Bush administration must now decide whether a curtailed program justifies continued enormous investments in the "star wars" program, the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Crowe, pointed out.

Axen Receives Communists, Social Democrats

AU2302201089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Feb 89 p 1

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [17 February] Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received the participants in the fourth multilateral meeting of communist and social democratic parties from six European countries, who are discussing bases and perspectives for a joint European home in Berlin. Representatives of the Flemish Belgian Socialist Party, the BCP, the Social Democratic Party of Denmark, the SED, the Netherlands Labor Party, and the MSZMP participated in the meeting.

Hermann Axen conveyed greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and reported on the tasks as regards the strengthening of peace and security and the development of cooperation with social democratic and socialist parties, which was defined at the seventh session of the SED Central Committee. The present exchange of opinions in Berlin confirms that communist and social democratic parties have joint or very similar views on questions of securing peace. The SED is eager to promote these common interests in order to continue to create favorable conditions for a joint European home in which the peoples of our continent can live with equal rights and in peace, he stated. The GDR regards the agreement on the negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, which will start in March 1989, as a chance to achieve for the first time mutually acceptable agreements on conventional disarmament in Europe. [passage omitted]

SED Official Comments on Social Strategy

AU2602175189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Feb 89 p 10

[Article by Heinrich Opitz from the "Karl Marx" Party College attached to the SED Central Committee: "Our Social Strategy and How We Implement It"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The development in the GDR has demonstrated in a manifold way that the application of objective social laws can only be optimized to such a degree as efforts are successful to master the complexity of economic, political—both in the spheres of domestic and foreign policy—social, intellectual-cultural, and natural interrelations. This insight has found manifold expression in SED documents, in the strategic orientation toward the unity of economic and social policy, as well as in the reference to the necessary intertwinement between science and production, and in the reference to the need to increase the people's material and cultural living standard and the level of culture and education of the working class and all working people.

If the Needs of the People Are Ignored...

If objective laws and the conditions where they are applied are neglected, and if the fact is overlooked that the interests and needs of the working people play a decisive role in their implementation, considerable disproportions in the structure of social life may result, which also entail negative results in the economic sphere.

If such mistakes are made in connection with strategic work, social conflicts may also occur in socialist societies, which can only be overcome through enormous efforts. That such conflicts, once they have emerged, are used by the enemies of socialism, that they are fanned and channeled in the direction of counterrevolutionary activities, should be known to every communist. The history of socialism can teach us many bitter lessons in this respect.

If socialism is the work of millions, it is not sufficient if only the party or a certain part of the working people are aware of the laws that regulate social development. This awareness must be firmly rooted in the citizens' consciousness as guidance for practical action.

The extent to which this awareness has developed as a result of the SED's successful social policy in our country has been demonstrated by the competition drives of enterprise collectives, aimed at the implementation of the 1989 National Economic Plan.

These initiatives contain many new and future-oriented elements: consistent striving for the most efficient solution in economic and social terms of tasks that have matured; the actual and comprehensive saving of workplaces and, thus, the release of working people for more productive work; purposeful reduction of prime costs and ensuring of a high utility value of the products, and many other things. In this, differing views are discussed, and a variety of different opinions is presented.

On "Intellectual Pluralism" and Its Abuse

In connection with arriving at decisions, it is imperative to discuss various possibilities and variants of how to act. In this way, dangers and errors can be discovered, a sense of responsibility can be developed, and optimum solutions can be found. Before making decisions and in order to find out the truth, it is advantageous and desirable to discuss a number of thoughts, considerations, deliberations, and views.

In this connection, diversion of opinion or "intellectual pluralism," as some call it, is being supported in various places. To advocate intellectual pluralism as a desirable and comprehensive basic attitude without specifying what it means can result in a dangerous self-deception. The concept of pluralism has been shamelessly abused by bourgeois ideology. It was used by positivist skepticism and voluntarism to demonstrate and prove the alleged nonexistence of truth. By interpreting pluralism in such

a way, there is no corroborated truth either about what socialism is, and it is up to everybody to proceed in accordance with the motto "let us see where thoughts lead us." On the basis of such an ideology that denies the existence of universal laws, socialism would never have been established and it would not be possible to develop it further today. Epistemological issues are never apolitical issues.

There is no doubt that the development and unfolding of the driving forces that are inherent in socialism are key problems that must be solved in all socialist countries in accordance with the national conditions and traditions in order to master the challenges of the scientific-technical revolution and of the competition between the systems. To temporarily borrow elements from the driving force of the capitalist society, including the principle of competition and social insecurity, is basically tantamount to avoiding the actual task and accepting a step back and contradictions in the social sphere.

Work Must Increasingly Become a Need

This cannot be our way. The social scientists in our country are requested to search for and develop the driving forces that are inherent in our "republic of work," as Marx put it. As stipulated in our party program, conscientious, honest, and socially useful work is the centerpiece of the socialist way of life. [passage omitted]

Domowina Committee Praises Nationality Policy

AU2402080689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Bautzen (ADN)—In a brochure which has just been published, the Domowina National Executive Committee pays tribute to the GDR's successful nationality policy. The brochure was published on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the republic. In it, Yuriy Gros, first secretary of the Domowina National Executive Committee, states that the GDR has also become the first real homeland for the 100,000 Sorbian citizens. It guarantees social security to them and their German fellow citizens and allows them to enjoy the achievements of socialist society. Political codetermination is demonstrated by the 2,300 Sorbian deputies at all levels, from the municipal representation to the People's Chamber. Thousands of citizens of Sorbian nationality work in permanent commissions of people's representations, in National Front committees, parents' representations, and other social bodies, he stresses. They feel responsible for the social development in approximately 300 cities and villages between Spreewald and the Lausitz Mountains. Altogether 98 Sorbs work as mayors.

The Sorbs' equal rights to education are shown, among other things, by the fact that their children can participate in Sorbian-language instruction in 68 schools in Lausitz. Yuriy Gros mentions the high level of the development of Sorbian art and culture as another testimony to the GDR's successful nationality policy. At present, 138 Sorbian popular art collectives exist. Since the enactment of the law on safeguarding the rights of the Sorbian population in 1948, 2,900 titles, among them 1,000 Sorbian school-books, have been published by the VEB Domowina publishing house.

Public Prosecutor on Handling of Nazi Crimes

AU2602185089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The continued lively interest in the exhibition "Topography of Terror" at Berlin's municipal library was again demonstrated at a lecture on Wednesday evening [22 February] on the topic "Nazi Criminals Before the Court." In the crowded conference room, Guenther Wieland, public prosecutor at the state prosecutor general's office of the GDR, spoke to the attentive audience about the prosecution and conviction of Nazi criminals in the GDR. By the end of 1987, a total of 12,879 persons had been finally convicted by the GDR's judicial organs on charges of participation in war crimes and crimes against humanity, 94 percent of them by the end of 1950. He recalled the fact that immediately after the liberation from fascism, the judicial organs in the Soviet occupation zone started to prosecute the crimes committed during the Nazi regime. This had been possible because immediately after the assumption of power by the fascists in 1933, steadfast antifascists had recorded the atrocities and listed the names of those who were behind the crimes for future generations. The first trial against a Nazi criminal was staged as early as 27 June 1945 at a criminal court in Berlin.

Guenther Wieland pointed out that the GDR has considered the conviction of all Nazi and war criminals as its natural duty from the beginning. Legislation and judicature always started from the assumption that extensive criminal acts, unprecedented in the history of mankind, were involved here. The consistent prosecution of the criminals of fascist rule is in the interest of all victims of and fighters against fascism, and in the interest of preventing such crimes from happening again. This was also emphasized by historian Wolfgang Scheffler from West Berlin, who has participated in over 60 trials against Nazi criminals in various countries since 1965. He stressed the necessity of international cooperation in the prosecution of these crimes.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 16-22 Feb

AU2602182589

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 17 to 23 February reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following members of the SED Central Committee [CC] Politburo attended a festive event commemorating the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy in Wuensdorf on 22 February: Army General Heinz

Kessler, minister of National Defense; Army General Erich Mielke, minister of State Security; and Erich Mueckenberger, president of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society. (23 Feb, p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler attended a ceremony during which Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC, chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council, promoted and appointed generals in Berlin; date not given. (22 Feb, p 1)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, attending a meeting of the League of Friendship Among Peoples in Berlin on 16 February. (17 Feb, p 1) Hermann Axen received the participants in the fourth multilateral meeting of communist and social democratic parties from six European countries in Berlin on 17 February. (18-19 Feb, p 1)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the SED CC Politburo and first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership, attended a celebration commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of former SED member Bernhard Koenen in Halle on 20 February. (21 Feb, p 2)

Werner Jarowinski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, attended the opening of the 12th Children's and Youth Spartakiad in Berlin on 20 February. (21 Feb, p 1)

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED CC Politburo and minister of National Defense, promoted and presented awards to meritorious members of the National People's Army in Berlin on 22 February. (23 Feb, p 2)

Siegfried Lorenz, member of the SED CC Politburo and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership, attended the opening ceremony of the Brotherhood-in-Arms Week in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 17 February. (18-19 Feb, pp 1, 2)

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED CC Politburo and president of the GDR-Friendship Society, attended a wreath-laying ceremony commemorating the 20th anniversary of the death of Johannes Dieckmann, former president of the GDR People's Chamber and president of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society, in Berlin on 22 February. (23 Feb, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, attended the opening of a new museum in Berlin on 17 February. (18-19 Feb, p 8) Guenter Schabowski visited the VEB Steremat "Hermann Schlimme" in Berlin on 20 February. (21 Feb, p 8)

Grosz Comments on State of One-Party System

LD2402223689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We begin our detailed reports with a dispatch by Csaba Belenyesi on today's events in the 2-day visit to Baranya County by party General Secretary Karoly Grosz. [passage omitted]

[Belenyesi] Karoly Grosz met the members of the Baranya group of deputies and the members of the county party executive committee. A rally was then held in the Pecs sports hall, which was packed.

[Announcer] At the rally Karoly Grosz said the following, as we quote some excerpts from his speech:

[Begin Grosz recording] One of the most debated issues in the party movement is the one-party-multiparty problem. This was genuinely raised in the debates prior to the party conference: Will we find the political form in our country under which, amid the conditions of a one-party system, we will be able to increase the party's political activity, ensure the party's social control, and better eliminate and narrow down the mistakes springing from subjective sources within the operation of the party? We did not find a better mechanism and form than the multiparty system to reduce this subjectivism and to broaden the party's social control. In other words, I would like to say clearly to you: We, since the party conference, have reached the conclusion that our slogan, which we have used for more than 20 years—that the party should be its own controller and opposition—has not been realized in practice.

If the leadership of a political party recognizes this, it must then draw political conclusions from it. Here I would like to tell you clearly that I do not believe that the multiparty system in itself carries a guarantee that further mistakes will not be committed. I have used the words will not be committed because I do not believe that I will be working in the leadership by the time the system has been developed.

The MSZMP has proposed, together with the PPF and KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League], that on 15 March there should be joint celebrations, together with the people participating in the various alternative movements, because this is one of our great national holiday. This proposal has not met with a favorable response.

We have not taken, and cannot take, offense at this. It appears that our offer came too early. For this reason we have decided to recommend that in the towns and settlements where the conditions have ripened for 15 March to be commemorated jointly, programs there should be held jointly. Where the conditions have not ripened, however, this great national holiday will thus be commemorated by the MSZMP, by the youth organization, and by the PPF.

We must seek cooperation with the well-intentioned alternative thinkers, and first and foremost with those who want socialism, but in a different way. Our conviction is that in Hungary, the MSZMP is the sole force that, in its own historical past, can look back to a 100-year political experience. This experience came into one main community with the merging of the two determining, great trends of the workers' movement. For this reason, we clearly have to state that we are returning to the basic thought of 1948, to the basic thought of 1948, that our future is determined by a strengthening of the social-democratic mentality and by the equal assertion and amalgamation of the reform-communist conception. This is the intellectual basis, where we see the future unfolding.

We want a constitutional state of law, and citizens' and personal freedom and self-direction, as I have alluded; we want authority controlled by society, a morally clean public life, administration that serves the people, and a more effective but more esteemed state apparatus. We would like it if it were possible to make public service, the defense of the country, and internal and public security independent of daily political battles. We believe that these spheres are not arenas for the struggle of parties.

An extremely important part of our foreign political activity is cooperation with the countries that are adjacent to our country's borders. You see, you can read: We have offered many initiatives in the past period, in the recent past; we have conducted a valuable and useful exchange of views with the Czechoslovak party leadership, and in the near future we will meet with the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership on the other side of the border, not far from here. For this reason, I would like to tell you that Hungarian-Yugoslav relations are balanced in every sphere of life; these relations are not burdened by significant, and mainly unresolved, unresolvable problems. For this reason, we have important interests attached to their further enrichment, to making them more vital, and we think that this is also the case with our southern neighbors.

We also consider cultural cooperation to be valuable, and we believe that it contributes to the cultural development of the southern Slav population living in Hungary, and that it also contributes to meeting the cultural requirements of the Hungarian nationality living in Yugoslavia. [end recording]

[Announcer] After the political rally, the MSZMP general secretary met the leaders of the town of Pecs. Later that evening, the general secretary's 2-day program in Baranya ended with a news briefing.

Grosz Previews Upcoming Visit to SFRY

LD2402225489 Budapest MTI in English 2112 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 24 MTI—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party,

specially dealt with his forthcoming visit to Yugoslavia and the relations between the two countries in his speech on Friday [24 February] in Pecs at a party activists' rally in Baranya County.

'Hungarian-Yugoslav relations are balanced in all walks of life, and are not burdened with major, or unresolvable problems. Both countries have major interests attached to further enriching these and making them more lively, and we have numerous, reciprocally exploitable opportunities for this. The reform process emerging in both countries can give further content and encouragement to our cooperation. Interest in each other is increasing and our growing interdependency has become more conscious. As a result of this, political confidence has become more profound, and the demand for genuine information and consultations free of formalities has become lasting. We highly appreciate this as it is obvious that becoming familiarized with the experiences of the identical, similar and differing characteristics and practical steps is also useful with respect to reforms.

'Meaningful cooperation has been established between the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The meetings between the general secretaries have become regular: The most recent was held in Budapest in 1987. It is a common demand by both sides that this extend to a wider sphere of party and state leaders.

'Our economic relations are stable, in spite of the existing internal problems of the two countries. Hungarian-Yugoslav goods turnover in 1988 was worth 540 million dollars, which is 7.5 percent more than in the previous year, and the value of foreign trade turnover, together with the services, stood at 710 million dollars. A significant point is that products delivered under long-term and cooperation agreements account for about 35 percent of the total turnover. The transmission line that links the electric energy system of the two countries was placed into operation in 1988. An agreement has been reached to increase gas transit deliveries to Yugoslavia. Yugoslav building industry companies carry out high quality work in Hungary. We see further major opportunities in direct economic cooperation.

'Our information, cultural, educational and scientific relations are diverse and meaningful. The historical traditions and the demands of the modern age alike make these suitable for further expansion.'

'Contact on a large scale between the populations of the two countries is regular. This has contributed enormously to the realistic picture our peoples have about each other.

'The bridging role of the national minorities living in the two countries is a definite stabilizing factor in Hungarian-Yugoslav cooperation. The enforcement of their characteristic interests is developing in the right direction, and its forms are being enriched. So we have something to fall back on when we strive to raise relations to a qualitatively higher level in this field as well. On the Hungarian side, the new constitution is being prepared in this spirit, and the preparation of a separate law on minorities is at an advanced stage.'

Mr Grosz analyzed the conditions of creating harmony between the economic, political and ideological-intellectual areas of the Hungarian reform. He stressed that the party also had to create its long-term programme for 20 to 25 years, and at the same time he noted that much more had happened in the ten months since the party conference than in the course of years before. Referring to the serious state of the economy, Mr Grosz said that the sources of restructuring should be found, even at the price of political compromises.

Departs for Talks With Suvar

LD2702074189 Budapest MTI in English
0703 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—On Monday morning, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, left for Yugoslavia to hold border-zone friendly talks with Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Mr Grosz is accompanied by Janos Lukacs, member of the HSWP Political Committee, secretary of the Central Committee, and several experts.

Mr Grosz and his entourage were seen off at the border station of Udvar by senior party and state officials of Baranya County.

Straub, Nagy Leave for Hirohito Funeral

LD2102170289 Budapest MTI in English
1035 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 21 (MTI)—Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, left for Japan on Tuesday [21 February]. The Hungarian head of state is to attend the funeral ceremony of Emperor Hirohito in Tokyo on February 24.

Mr Straub is accompanied by Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Straub Meets Takeshita

LD2302101189 Budapest MTI in English
0800 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo, February 23 (MTI)—Bruno F. Straub, Hungarian head of state, staying in Japan to attend the funeral of Emperor Hirohito, paid a visit to Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita on Thursday morning local time. In the course of the short but friendly talk, Mr Takeshita praised the openness and activity of the Hungarian foreign policy, with particular regard to the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea. He said that Japanese-Hungarian relations progressed

favourably, and ensured the Hungarian head of state that Japan, in cooperation with the World Bank, was ready to aid the Hungarian economic restructuring scheme.

Mr Straub conveyed the greetings of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and expressed the hopes on the behalf of the prime minister that Mr Takeshita would pay an official visit to Hungary in the not too distant future. He also spoke about the political and economic changes in Hungary, underlining that Hungary hoped for a closer cooperation with Japan in tackling economic tasks.

Takeshita Offers Loan

LD2402072989 Budapest MTI in English 1336 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 23, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Japan pledges to assist the restructuring programme of the Hungarian economy in cooperation with the World Bank, Noburu Takeshita, Japanese premier told President Bruno F. Straub of Hungary who is currently on an visit to Tokyo.

President Straub attended the funeral ceremony of Emperor Hirohito.

President Straub pointed out that Hungary reckoned with close cooperation with Japan in its endeavours to overcome the difficulties the Hungarian economy now faces, and expressed his hope that Premier Takeshita would pay a formal visit to Hungary in the near future.

Japanese banks have so far made co-financing loans to Hungary to the value of 60.5 billion yens in the frame of World Bank loan projects.

Hungarian export to Japan amounted to 119.5 million USD last year, after 82.3 million USD in 1987.

Hungarian import was 125.7 million USD in 1988, as compared to 154.4 million in the previous year.

Straub Meets Japanese Officials

LD2502040089 Budapest MTI in English 2145 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo, February 23 (MTI)—On Thursday, Bruno F. Straub, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, met a group of Japanese personalities who are playing an outstanding role in the development of Hungarian-Japanese relations. Mr Straub stressed that these relations are particularly important to Hungary. In the course of talks, Ichiro Yamanuchi, president of the Japanese-Hungarian parliamentary friendship group, asked how parties set up in Hungary according to socialist fundamental principles would differ from one another. Mr Straub said that the various parties can hold various concepts and methods to be correct in the solving of the individual parties. He said the multi-party system had major importance from the point of view of control.

Over the past four years, commercial turnover between Hungary and Japan more than doubled, and was worth more than 200 million dollars last year. The growth in turnover was mainly achieved by increasing Hungarian exports. A Japanese surplus was recorded four years ago, and today there is a considerable Hungarian export surplus. In view of the dynamic development, the Japanese side last year formulated the goal of attaining a turnover worth 500 million dollars.

In spite of these positive facts and plans, the president of the Hungarian Presidential Council voiced his view that the inclination for founding joint ventures seems to have declined from the Japanese side. He sees the reason for this in the caution elicited by the Hungarian financial situation. Mr Straub ensured those present that the Hungarian Government wishes to fulfil its financial obligations at all costs.

The president of the Presidential Council gave an interview to NHK TV, Japanese television.

Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Gabor Nagy was met on Thursday by Ryohei Murata state secretary of foreign affairs. The sides voiced their readiness to develop political, economic and cultural relations, and agreed to continue cooperation between the two foreign ministries.

Straub Interviewed by NHK

LD2402130889 Budapest MTI in English 0740 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo, February 24 (MTI)—Bruno F. Straub is the only head of state from a socialist country to attend Emperor Hirohito's funeral, a fact specially emphasized by the Japanese NHK Broadcasting Company, which covered the ceremony. The Hungarian head of state gave an interview to NHK about Hungarian-Japanese relations and the foreign policy of Hungary.

'Hungarian diplomacy aims to take up relations with as many countries as possible. Irrespective of any ideological difference, we wish to establish good relations with every country and every people,' said Mr Straub.

Straub Meets Bush, Lukyanov

LD2602020589 Budapest MTI in English 1832 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo, February 25 (MTI)—On Saturday evening Hungarian President Bruno F. Straub left Japan after attending the funeral of Emperor Hirohito.

Prior to his departure, he told MTI's correspondent in Tokyo that the burial of the late Japanese emperor, attended by representatives of 163 countries, was more than a funeral ceremony: It was an indication of Japan's image in the world as an economic powerhouse and a major potential partner. Mr Straub mentioned the audience given to him by the new emperor as an outstanding

event of his visit, and he also attached great importance to his 20-minute discussion with Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, who asked him what changes he saw in environmental protection compared to his first visit to Japan in 1958. In connection with commercial ties, Mr Takeshita stressed that Hungary has to use World Bank loans to improve its economic situation.

The president of the Presidential Council held talks with Presidents George Bush of the United States, Francois Mitterrand of France, Richard von Weizsacker of the Federal Republic of Germany, Chaim Herzog of Israel, Husni Mubarak of Egypt and Georgios Vasiliu of Cyprus. He also met Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice-president of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union.

The Hungarian head of state gave interviews to NHK state television company and several leading Japanese dailies.

Delegation Returns 26 Feb

LD2602173689 Budapest MTI in English 1608 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 26 (MTI)—On Sunday [26 February] Bruno F. Straub, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, returned from Japan, where he attended the funeral ceremony of Emperor Hirohito. He was accompanied by Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Mr Straub was met at Ferihegy Airport by Istvan Sarlos, vice-president of the Presidential Council, Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council, and Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs. Present was Ryozo Mogi, Japanese ambassador to Hungary.

Istvan Szabo Discusses Agricultural Policy

LD2002102489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Interview with Istvan Szabo, member of the MSZMP Political Bureau and chairman of the Agricultural Cooperatives National Council, by Bela Gyori; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Gyori] Agricultural cooperatives have never before gathered together for a conference, although they have held five congresses. Now, at the end of February 1989, they are going to hold a conference in Budapest. Why is it necessary to hold a conference now?

[Szabo] The cooperatives have to be called together, and first of all, these political reform processes have to be discussed, not to mention the fact that, in the past 2 years since the last congress, very serious tensions have developed in agriculture and within this, in the agricultural cooperatives.

[Gyori] You said: We feel that we also have something to say. To whom do you want to say something, to yourselves, to politics, or to the government?

[Szabo] To ourselves, to politics, and to the government as well. I think that, if I take politics first, we also have things to do. If I take into consideration the fact that many people talk about land reform and say that the whole socialist reorganization of agriculture has been carried out on a Stalinist basis, I think that we, those of us who live and work in the agricultural cooperatives and who make our living from them, have to answer this, that we have to say something. This conference will also be suitable for this purpose.

Second, as I said, economic tensions have developed in the branch, in the agriculture and food industry, and within this, also in the cooperatives. What I mean by this is that income from production is decreasing. It decreases far more than production, for while the latter did not decrease a great deal, it did not increase at the desired rate as planned. Now I do not even think first of the national economic plan, but rather of the plans of the agricultural cooperatives.

In 1987 and 1988, for example, the cooperatives did not fulfill the goal for grain they set for themselves.

[Gyori] To what extent did they not fulfil the plan? Haven't we grown accustomed to producing 15 million tonnes of grain during the past decade in Hungary?

[Szabo] We are accustomed to producing 15 to 15.5 million tonnes of grain; in 1987 grain production was 14.1 million tonnes and in 1988 it was 14.7 million tonnes. We always, and also in 1987, gave more than 80 percent of grain production.

[Gyori] You refer to the producers' cooperatives?

[Szabo] Yes, the producers' cooperatives; they gave 80-85 percent. If the grain produced was half a million or 1 million tonnes less than planned, it can be calculated what kind of shortage this meant for the producers' cooperatives.

[Gyori] Is it true that feed management problems can also be expected this year up until the new crop arrives?

[Szabo] Yes, feed problems can be expected despite the fact that the government fulfilled its export obligations to its traditional markets and first of all, our deliveries to the Soviet Union. However, to create a more stable feed market in Hungary, grain now has to be imported; and this is not desirable.

[Gyori] Is it also true that in 1 year machinery investment was reduced by 50 percent in the producers' cooperatives?

[Szabo] This is the other question—only 50-60 percent of our technical provisions were bought by the producers' cooperatives—for example, from tractors, combines, and various machines. While it is a good thing that the building investment and technological investment has improved, our investment in machinery has remained below the desired level.

[Gyori] Is it also true that the usage of fertilizers has decreased alarmingly?

[Szabo] We cannot say yet, but the price increase for fertilizers introduced on 1 September 1988 had a great effect on the producers' cooperatives. It is pretty certain that usage did not increase, but we cannot prove this statistically. The cattle stock in the producers' cooperatives has come to a halt; it did not decrease, but it has not increased either. I could say the same about the sheep stock: Its numbers have invariably decreased further in the large agricultural concerns and household farms alike. These are such warning signs from the aspect of the present and the future that I feel they must be discussed at the national level.

[Gyori] And is it true that a good 25 percent of the producers' cooperatives are already using up their own wealth?

[Szabo] That is an exaggeration. Approximately 120-150 producers' cooperatives are using up their own wealth and do not distribute it but rather use it up to simply continue to exist.

[Gyori] I remember when you were elected to the MSZMP Politburo. In those days the Western media wrote that Istvan Szabo, the great agricultural reformer, the great master builder of Hungarian agriculture, has leapt to the forefront of politics. You must know then, how did it happen that this wonderful agricultural system now finds itself in this dangerous situation?

[Szabo] I do not accept that it is in a dangerous state. Agriculture struggles with problems. [passage omitted]

[Gyori] I do not know whether you are aware that a few days ago the Christian Democratic Party was founded in Hungary, or at least here in Budapest. Some days before that, the People's Party was formed, initiated by the Peter Veres Society. The Smallholders' Party is functioning. The Social Democratic Party is operating, and what is most surprising to me is that the social democracy, which never excelled in agricultural policy, is now working on elaborating an agricultural policy. My question is as follows: Many people are now elaborating an agricultural policy, an agricultural policy thesis, and many also say that the MSZMP does not currently possess a ready agricultural policy.

[Szabo] I am aware of the founding of these alternative organizations, of the founding of parties; I am following attentively their manifestations, and in truth, they nearly all deal with agricultural policy issues, village issues. Yet I, as a producers' cooperative president who lives in a village, as TOT [Agricultural Cooperatives' National Council] president, construe the situation as being that these organizations, whether they are parties or alternative organizations, are seeking members or supporters—it does not matter how I word it—in Hungarian villages and in Hungarian agriculture, as well.

As for the other part of the question, that the MSZMP has no agricultural policy: I would like to underline that the MSZMP had an agricultural policy but that we have overstepped this agricultural policy. This agricultural policy no longer meets current requirements. If we do not take care, if we do not halt the unfavorable tendencies, then this agriculture will not be able to produce the $1.5 billion from Western exports, and it will not be able to produce the (?1.2) billion rubles from socialist exports. Therefore, this agricultural policy must be reformed, and this will be discussed on the 20th of this month, or tomorrow, by the Central Committee.

Being familiar with the material, it is my firm opinion that this material is suitable for stimulating the peasantry, for mobilizing them, out of this loss of faith which now exists in this branch, primarily in the large farms, and that through this it will give rise to a turnaround. [passage omitted]

[Gyori] There is talk of liberalizing land turnover in Hungary.

[Szabo] Yes, there is talk of that. I am in full agreement with that, but when I say that I agree with it, by no means am I thinking of land reform, of our dividing up the land. What I am thinking of exactly is that, for example, there would be no problem in, for example, certain areas—and I could say generally that we have somewhat taken the large farms to extremes—if specialist cooperatives, small cooperatives, and even individual farmers leave or if existing cooperatives cease to exist and if simpler cooperatives are formed there. The decisive question is what works more effectively.

[Gyori] There already was talk of this at the fifth congress, but then legal regulations and laws did not give scope for this maneuver.

[Szabo] The legal regulations have given the scope and the laws have given the scope; however, there is no interest. Income is very low for basic agricultural activity. That is why peasants are not reaching out for the land. That is why agricultural production is causing us problems. [passage omitted]

[Gyori] If an agricultural policy undertakes to sketch a picture of the future, it must decide whether it will also pursue social activity, or whether it will become expressly profit-centered.

[Szabo] That is false—the two issues can not be opposed in that manner. No matter how we like the cooperatives and members of the cooperatives, we cannot avoid what is around us. We have avoided it enough in the past 30 or 40 years. It is necessary to manage profitably—that is what the objective can be. It is necessary to manage profitably in a manner so that the cooperative shapes a structure in the community, in the village, where a tolerable income can be ensured for the people, for the cooperatives' members, for those who want to take on work and those who identify with the cooperative and who do not want to leave the cooperative, for those people in the region where the village or community or cooperative is located.

The ideology can only be that. To put this issue as if I were to send away 200 cooperative members has always been erroneous. I consider it to be expressly dangerous now, at a time when the agricultural policies of the People's Party, the Democratic Forum, and so forth are being shaped. We, producers' cooperative leaders, producers' cooperative presidents, are leaders on the basis of the mandate given us by the cooperative members—for they elected us. Our primary goal, as producers' cooperative presidents and leaders, no matter where we are, is to ensure work for those who elected us, those who do not want to leave the cooperative, who want to work, primarily from agriculture. However, if this does not work, then we should ensure for them industrial activity and other activity. There must be no concessions on this. [passage omitted]

[Gyori] Somehow, our history in Hungary has developed in a way so that the voice of Hungarian agriculture, of the Hungarian village, has always been quiet. It has always had a smaller capacity to assert its interests than other economic branches, than other groups of the population. Unfortunately, this has been true throughout—in the period of socialism as well. Now you are overly criticized for TOT not having made its voice heard loudly enough, for not having safeguarded interests in a marked manner.

[Szabo] We are criticized and called to account for the agricultural situation, the producers' cooperatives' situation that has developed, just as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Finance, or the National Bank are criticized. There is nothing to be done regarding this. We have to accept our part of the criticism—the national council of producers' cooperatives, the regional federations of producers' cooperatives—although our responsibility is much less than that of the government or of our ministry branch. There is nothing to be done about this.

As for Hungarian villages always having been silent and quiet, I believe that they should neither resound loudly nor be very quiet, because what is generally characteristic of the peasantry is that it does not demonstrate, it does not take to the streets, but rather that it remains quiet. If Hungarian villages are very quiet—I am not speaking here about TOT or the regional federations, but rather about the Hungarian peasantry and Hungarian villages—this causes problems and, let us say, can cause difficulty in supplies of agricultural production.

[Gyori] Wait a minute. Is the Hungarian village quiet at present?

[Szabo] It is not yet quiet. Its leaders, the producers' cooperative leaders, the regional federations, and we as well are voicing our problems and difficulties more loudly, both toward ourselves and the government, but I would immediately like to add that general domestic politics in Hungary suggest that it is not possible to remain quiet, for the domestic political mood is such. We could not have done this 2, 3, or 4 years ago because our existence would have been questioned, and I am not exaggerating about this.

However, let us not talk about the past; let us look into the future. In the past, it was possible to fulfill a representative role only by having a genuine say in the shaping of the system of regulators. We had a say in this, and we achieved results, but at the cost of our also having to accept the role of being a transmitter.

[Gyori] You have precise information that, for example, last summer there was talk in one or two places of halting the combine harvesters and of going on strike when there were disputes over the wage system. Two years ago a harvesters' strike in Hungary would have been inconceivable. Now, however, there was talk of this.

[Szabo] Thank God that this did not materialize, because they managed to resolve the problems of the people running the combine harvesters within the workplace. There was no central measure. There should not be strikes; in my opinion, they are not compatible with the psychology of the peasantry, of those working in agriculture. We have been given proposals from producers' cooperative leaders—anonymously—that TOT should be more resolute, should call on the presidents and leaders of the producers' cooperatives not to buy artificial fertilizer. We should barricade the roads with agricultural machines; we should march on the parliament building, thus demonstrating what kinds of tensions there are in the economy. We should milk the cows but should not hand it over to the dairy, the milk processors; rather, we should pour it away.

I believe that if the National Council of Producers' cooperatives and the regional federations, let us say, were to appeal in this manner to producers' cooperatives' leaderships, it would be primarily the producers' cooperative leaders who would become fearful, and they would not understand us.

[Gyori] Why do you think that?

[Szabo] I think that the villages and the agricultural sector have a kind of mentality that would make it very difficult for them to arrive at the point of striking, and they would

not reach the point of striking. This is not what they have become used to, for in some way or other, their problems were solved or they managed to overcome them.

[Gyori] So their representatives do not consider these radical tools to be expedient solutions?

[Szabo] Well, at least our Presidium and our national council do not, but as for the future, we must formulate our demands more determinedly in the interest of the cooperative membership, the peasants, the agricultural cooperatives. I do not want to exercise great self-criticism here, for it would be misunderstood, but it is my decisive opinion that in the past years—the past 3 or 4 years, because it is since then, in 1985 and 1986, that the development of agriculture came to a halt, and in 1987 and 1988 it decreased—we should have formulated matters more clearly. I am not saying that we should have raised a ruckus, but we could have raised a ruckus once or twice, when the balance deficits were not dealt with as would have been desirable or necessary, or when the Finance Ministry held back some of the money that was earmarked for this. This should have been raised more strongly in the National Assembly, and also in the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives, and elsewhere.

[Gyori] What are you preparing for here at the agricultural coperatives' conference? What do you want to do ?

[Szabo] We want to initiate, in accordance with the spirit of reform, agricultural cooperative members becoming an owner of the agricultural cooperative, and not just in a general way. We wish to assign part of the accumulated assets, even (?part) of the existing assets, too, in his name. We wish to put a certain part of the accumulated assets, either all or 50 percent of them, under the names of those who have created this in the given year, so that this can be inherited, and dividends paid. So, we wish to recognize this financially.

The Presidium has worked out various alternatives, and we wish to discuss these at this conference to set this in motion. We have worked out an alternative, an idea, which we intend to be material for debate, for the renewal of interest-representation work. We also can envisage interest representation developing according to what is written, but also that there can be completely new things, including, for example, branch federations, and also that the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives need not be known by this name—it could be called the Federation of Cooperatives, or something else. So, we have in mind a completely flexible idea concerning the future. We plan to convene the sixth congress of agricultural cooperatives within 1 year. [passage omitted] The congress will not take place in December 1991, but in the 1st quarter or the first months of 1990, in 1 year's time.

[Gyori] That is what the agricultural cooperatives are doing, and that is what TOT is planning. Let me ask, as agrarian policy is not one subject among men but rather a question of very great importance—when does the party, the MSZMP, intend to deal with the modernization, the reform of agrarian policy?

[Szabo] In its first reading, it will discuss the material on 20 February. It will then appear before the Central Committee again, and it will then present its stand. I consider this a very good thing.

What has to be decided here? First, to maintain and develop this multifaceted nature of Hungarian agriculture: state farms, agricultural cooperatives, household plots, small-scale production, and hobby gardens. It is roughly these four sectors which exist now, although household plots and hobby gardens are different. This is one thing. The other is that the possibility of passage between these sectors must be further widened. There are such possibilities between the sectors, but they must be widened.

[Gyori] That passage was rather a bumpy road.

[Szabo] Yes. I would like to repeat that we can envisage that in those areas where the possibility of large-scale farming does not exist, that people could farm individually, form a small cooperative, form a specialized cooperative. We can also envisage that financial interestedness be further improved, that small ventures be created within large ventures—for example, large cooperatives could make plant cultivation or animal husbandry independent. Responsibility should be spread much more than is done currently, and leadership and direction should be decentralized. We have a great deal of improvement to make in this area. Naturally, we must strengthen the technical background of this agrarian policy, and I mean on a political level. Further advances cannot be made here without technology. This technology must be obtained primarily from domestic industry, from the socialist countries, but where this possibility does not exist, then it must be imported from Western countries. So, what we expect from this agrarian policy is that it should maintain its export orientation, for this is very important. [passage omitted]

Opposition Member Bihari on Multiparty System

PM2002113689 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Feb 89 p 6

["S.K."-signed dispatch: "Multiparty System According to Mihaly Bihari—Prominent Oppositionist"]

[Text] Budapest—"We need four or five political parties." That is the assessment made by Mihaly Bihari, the political science lecturer at Budapest University who was expelled from the MSZMP in the final hours of Kadar's reign for maintaining contacts with the opposition, of which he is now one of the leading figures. This is the Hungarian political scene as he envisages it:

The Social Democratic Party "would be the biggest political party, because some 100,000 MSZMP members would be prepared to join it."

The Hungarian Democratic Forum, numerically the largest alternative group, formed in 1987.

The Agrarian Party—"a real peasants' party," of which the existing Peter Veres Society is the precursor.

The Free Democrats' Alliance—"a radical, democratic intellectuals' party." This movement has existed since last year.

"Of course," Mr Bihari added, "this raises the question of what will happen to the MSZMP. It could split into two or three parties:

"An orthodox, conservative communist party.

"A real Leninist communist party led by democratic centralists like Grosz or Nemeth (the prime minister—LE MONDE editor's note).

"A reformist communist party or a social-reformist party led by Pozsgay or Nyers (who are both now members of the MSZMP Politburo—LE MONDE editor's note) or both."

"The Social Democratic Party and the reformist communist party could form an alliance and a political coalition while ruling out the possibility of fusion as occurred in 1949. That would be the greatest challenge to the MSZMP."

In the short term, after being active within the Democratic Forum last year, Mr Bihari is working on the Social Democratic Party program that he will put forward on 1 March. "We will then have to win support for this program from MSZMP members." He is a brilliant academic who is highly respected among intellectuals, and his friends have asked him to become general secretary of the Social Democratic Party, which was again formed on 19 January, 40 years after it was forcibly absorbed by the communist party (it briefly reappeared in 1956), but he says that he is still hesitating. "I would have liked to wait for a split in the MSZMP, which might have taken place at the plenum on 10 and 11 February. But it did not. I do not now see any possibility of a split in the near future."

Meanwhile, the Social Democratic Party, which plans to register as a party as soon as the law on this has been adopted this summer, has already received support from the Socialist International. Its chairman is Andras Revesz, one of this party's historical leaders.

May Day Parade Cancelled for 1989; Rally Planned

LD2402153689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] There will be no May Day parade this year. Instead, a mass rally will be held at which the party general secretary will make a speech. This was announced by Tibor Nemeth, secretary of the Budapest Council of Trade Unions, to the newspaper VALASZ [Reply]. He justified the decision by saying that the earlier ceremonies had cost too much money, and he also said that they [not further identified] would like to return to the traditions of the time following the liberation and that they would like to celebrate Labor Day in a more leisurely way, in a more relaxed atmosphere. The scene of this year's mass rally will still be the Felvonulasi Ter, and about 100,000-150,000 participants are expected. Attendance is not compulsory for anyone.

Army Service Evaders Receive Suspended Sentences

LD2402150189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] The Presidential Council has been briefed about the case of those condemned for having refused military service. The council decided that the imprisonment [szabadsagvesztes] of the 70 persons concerned should be suspended, and on the basis of a later rule of law, they should be released from the remaining portions of their punishment.

Police Use 'Brutal' Force Against Polish Traders

LD2202235489 Budapest MTI in English 1523 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 21 (MTI)—The action taken by police against a group of Polish tourists at Varpalota Market, central Hungary, on February 3 was ill-considered and ran counter to service regulations, the deputy commander of Veszprem County Police Force, responsible for public safety, told MTI.

Investigations reveal that the head of Varpalota CID [Criminal Investigation Department] received a telephone call on February 3rd, drawing attention to the arrival of a large group of Polish tourists illegally trying to sell various appliances. An eight-strong team, led by the head of the CID, arrived on site and arrested seven Polish citizens for unauthorized trading. They filed a report on the incident with the head of the police station.

Local party and council leaders have protested against the police raid on the market, since it also caused rightful indignation among residents, instigated by the brutal conduct of the police who wielded truncheons.

An immediate investigation was launched by Veszprem County Police Force. So far, it has emerged that the policemen did use truncheons on some Polish citizens. Investigations are still in progress, and eye witnesses still

Protests, Strikes Continue Throughout Country

TV Reports on Student Brawls

LD2702004289 Warsaw PAP in English 2306 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 26—The Polish Television broadcast tonight a report on street brawls organized by students of the Jagiellonian University in Kracow. The dispatch showed the road to deep democratic reforms to be worked out at the roundtable as conceived by some people.

The first day, February 17. Students organized a rally in the old town market square voicing their demands for the immediate legalization of the independent students union NZS (talks on the issue are under way and the unions registration is settled). The organizers shout slogans: We want changes in the educational system, we want depolitization of the Jagiellonian University. The demonstrators respond with: Down with the commune, "Solidarity", "Solidarity", we won't surrender to the commune.

The militia, as it could be seen, did not intervene, though the march of the youth crowd greatly disturbed the city traffic.

Another day, February 21. The scenes are similar to the previous ones. The militia tried to hold the demonstrators back without using force and, after some time, the crowd followed the appeals and dispersed. The traffic was paralyzed again.

The third day, February 23. Groups of students again gather in front of the collegium novum. Prorector of the university Professor Stanislaw Grodziski addresses them saying: "Undoubtedly you are playing, so have a good time, but I would also like to have a quiet day." The camera shows what the "play" was: Gorbachev's portrait as a shooting target. The monument commemorating the Red Army soldiers who saved Krakow from destruction in 1945 was desecrated.

The fourth day, February 24. Dispatch from the brawls was showed in the main TV news bulletin on Saturday. Again a crowd of students gathers at the collegium novum and armed in sticks and stones proceed to the city centre. Stopped by a cordon of militia, the demonstrators ignore the appeals to disperse and attack the civic militia troops. The press has already reported on the damage made.

The report ends in a statement that the organizers of the brawls threaten with new rallies and a question: What are these demonstrations organized for and what is the purpose of street brawls in Krakow? Is it a test of honest intentions of some people talking about pluralism?

Krakow Incidents Cause Damage

LD2502002489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Yesterday shocking incidents took place at the Adam Mickiewicz monument in Krakow, as a result of which 39 functionaries of the Civic Militia were injured and 2 were taken to the hospital. The illegal groups of the Federation of Young [word indistinct], the KPN [the Confederation for Independent Poland], and NSZ [The Independent Student Union] were the organizers of the unrest and the disturbances. Fifteen cars and 2 radio stations were damaged. Twenty-four of the most aggressive participants of the incidents were detained. In the opinion of Krakow's residents, writes PAP, this latest escapade is all the more surprising and to be condemned as it (?coincides) with reports on progress in the roundtable talks.

12 Detained in Demonstration

LD2502195189 Warsaw PAP in English 1829 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25—A 200-odd group of members of the so-called "Orange Alternative"—university and secondary school students from Warsaw—staged a kind of "happening" under the slogan "A Pole knows how" near downtown Warsaw's "centrum" shopping mall.

In the beginning the event proceeded like many similar ones. Slogans invented on the spot were shouted, placards were unfolded reading "I love to drink anti-freeze" and the like. Things however got nastier later on. Cans of paint were thrown not only at walls and shop windows but also passer-bys.

The police moved in, apprehending 51 people of whom most were released home after showing identity cards. 12 people suspected of destroying public property were detained in the downtown police station pending legal proceedings.

Preliminary estimates put the damage at 5 million zloties though the management of the "centrum" chain think it could prove much higher.

'Radical' Groups Demonstrate

LD2502182589 Hamburg DPA in German 1756 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—Some 100 members of radical opposition groups in Poland met in Jastrzebie on Saturday for a "Congress of the Opposition Against the Social Order." The organized in Warsaw announced that police earlier intercepted and temporarily detained about 20 people. Even so other people had managed to reach the venue of the meeting, a church in Jastrzebie.

The congress opposes the "establishment" of the opposition around Lech Walesa and Solidarity. An appeal said that full democracy in Poland could not be achieved

with the help of a "new pact with the governing elite" in Poland. In view of the "state of compliance of the oppositional establishment" the radical opposition would have to draft a joint action plan for the next "waves of social protest."

Among the organizers are sections of the pacifist organization "Freedom and Peace" [WIP], the banned "Polish Socialist Party" [PPS], and the nationalistic "Confederation of Independent Poland" [KPN]. The leader of the PPS, Jozef Pinior, had already been taken into "preventive" detention in Wroclaw on Friday. Members of Solidarity are also said to be among the participants. [passage omitted]

Plock Workers Strike for More Pay

LD2402173689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] The work force at the depot of the Municipal Trasnport Enterprise in Plock is on strike. The basis is remuneration matters. Talks are continuing between representatives of the work force and the management of the enterprise.

The occupation strike in the Servicing and Construction Enterprise in Sierpc in Plock Voivodship is continuing. Financial demands have been put forward, but apart from that the workers are demanding the appropriate exploitation of the machine stock, as for a long time now the work force has been employed on cleaning machines and equipping factory buildings. The dispute has not yet been resolved.

Sieradz, Lodz Strikes 'Suspended'

LD2602143689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Excerpt] At 1400 today the strike at the municipal transport enterprise in Sieradz was suspended until 15 April. The technical services have already begun work. The buses will operate on their routes tomorrow. A special commission will work out a new rumuneration system for the employees of the enterprise by 15 April.

The strike at the General Walter cotton mill enterprise in Lodz has also been suspended. The strike at the Pabianice Pamotex cotton industry works, however, is still continuing. The strike committee put forward 22 demands mostly on pay issues.

In Plock the buses are stil not operating.

This is how it is today in Sierpc:

[Unidentified correspondent] The repair and assembly enterprise in Sierpc in Ploc Voivodship belongs to the repair and assembly enterprise of the brewing industry in Okocim. The sit-in strike of the entire work force is in its 4th day. [passage omitted]

Protest Against Building Nuclear Power Plant

LD2402232789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Excerpts] On Friday at about 1600, a group of several dozen young people in the Long Market [in Gdansk] near the Fountain of Neptune tried to organize a mini protest march against the construction of a nuclear power station at Zarnowiec. The young people went down the Long Market shouting slogans and scattering leaflets calling for a halt to the construction of Zarnowiec, pointing out the danger that comes from building a nuclear power station in our country. [passage omitted]

Walesa Answers Students' Questions in Gdansk

LD2402232989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Barbara Sampolska reports from Gdansk:

[Sampolska] About 1500 persons came to the hall of the Gdansk Technical University for a meeting with Lech Walesa today. Most of them, of course, were students. Professor Boleslaw Mazurkiewicz, his magnificence the rector, ushered the guest into the hall. Lech Walesa answered 32 questions, mostly known already from numerous press conferences, such as: How do you assess the split in Solidarity? Or whether Solidarity is willing to ask the world for material aid for Poland or whether Walesa will boycott the elections. Walesa, with disarming frankness answered: No. Many questions concerned the Independent Student Union [NZS]. Lech Walesa, asked how he sees the role of the NZS in the sociopolitical life of Poland, answered: This question is not for me; the decision to set up the union or not must be made by you.

Answering many questions concerning the roundtable he stated with concern that he dreads the moment when the consumption comes of whatever will be served on it. The roundtable is just the creation of possibilities, I am worried whether we will be able to take advantage of them. Many people do not want freedom because they do not know what to do with it.

Asked about the fate of the Lenin Shipyard he answered, among other things, that in this difficult situation for the enterprise when it is divided—and when the opportunity arises, it is often robbed and devastated—one thing is valuable: it is a positive example of the destruction of the monopoly, and this is what we need now.

Roundtable Trade Union Working Group Meets

Begins Work on Proposals

LD2402234889 Warsaw PAP in English 2235 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—The team for trade union pluralism, selected at the inaugural debates of the "roundtable", met here, February 24, for the third time.

The debates were chaired by one of the team's three co-chairmen Romuald Sosnowski.

Following the two-day work of the working group called into being by the team for preparing a draft amanded law on trade unions the proposals concerning two questions were agreed upon: the procedure of establishment of trade unions, permitting, among other things, for the registration by a single legal act, of a nation-wide trade union embracing employees of different branches of the economy, and the making possible for the trade unions to freely set up their own organizational structures.

However, the team failed to agree upon proposals concerning a list of issues pertaining to collective interests of employees and calling for a concerted stance of different unions vis-a-vis managers of work establishments. However, the participants in the working group had no doubt about the need to present a joint stance of trade unions.

Therefore, the group suggested two variants of the solution. The first variant calls for obligatory establishing of a joint trade union representation at a work establishment in any case in which the manager is obliged, before he takes a decision concerning all the staff members or a part of them, to consult it with the works trade union organization.

The second variant solution provides for a joint stance of trade unions on pay questions and on issues concerning social security and housing.

R. Sosnowski underlined that it would be advisible for the team to give a suitable rank to the question of joint representation.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki was of the opinion that an obligatory establishment of a joint representation in all issues would be incompatible with conventions of the international labour organization.

Aleksander Kwasniewski, who presented the stance of the coalition-government side, said that the introduction of trade union pluralism should be accompanied by the formation of a joint representation vis-a-vis the work establishment administration. The government side is ready to back the number two variant solution.

Several other solutions were suggested during the debates and in this connection the working group will continue its work to present its result at the team's next meeting.

Next Jan Brol presented the results of the work of working groups for a draft law on trade unions of private farmers. The law should include guarantees and limits of trade union freedom, the statute, the principles and procedure of registration.

The law should also include the following clause: trade unions existing on the basis of this law have the rights and obligations granted under the decrees of the law to private farmers organizations as regards the scope and representation and defence of the rights and interests of farmers.

Farmers' cirlces and othe civic-professional organizations of farmers should retain their hitherto rights but with the principle of pluralism and equal rights taken into account, the working group said.

The next meeting of the team is scheduled for March 6.

Solidarity on TU Talks

LD2402234489 Warsaw PAP in English
2202 GMT 24 Feb 89

[By Stanislaw Filipczak]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—I would term today's debates as toilsome and disappointing, co-chairman of the round-table team for trade union pluralism on the part of the opposition-Solidarity side Tadeusz Mazowiecki said at his meeting with journalists today. We did not reach satisfactory solutions today, Mazowiecki added.

The source of difficulties lies in the fact that the law that we amend is a law prepared with the assumption of trade union monism and we introduce in it an amendment enabling Solidarity and other trade unions to exist. Practically, we constantly cannot get rid of an impression that we encounter an ambiguous stand on recognizing trade union pluralism. Next, repeating his words in front of a Polish TV Camera, Mazowiecki said: "Today, we had really three different stands."

Professor Stefan Kozlowski presented the work of the sub-team for ecology. He said that the work undoubtedly was already nearing the final examiniation ofthe original 17-item programme to improve Poland's ecological situation. Today, we proceeded for the first time to an attempt to specify detailed formulations, he said.

We also raised a problem of stopping investments in building new mines, nuclear power plants, considerably limiting the melting of steel as well as developing power industry based on gas and imported fuels. Here of course, a through and through crack occurred because this entirely contradicts the government programme.

OPZZ Assesses Talks

LD2402101589 Warsaw PAP in English
0106 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 23—The Council of the OPZZ All-Poland Trade Union Alliance gathered today to assess the activity of representatives of the alliance during "roundtable" talks. On this basis the council adopted a statement reading in part:

The OPZZ Council expresses approval for the participation of its representatives in the "roundtable" debates and the way they presented the independent stance of our trade union movement.

Our postulates and opinions have not however been appropriately implemented. In connection with this the OPZZ Council expresses apprehension whether the debates of the "roundtable" will be able to work out a new system of social influence on the government side giving a guarantee of the implementation of these postulates. In our opinion this system could be worked out only within the frame of the social agreement proposed by us for two years now which till this day it is impossible to put into effect.

The OPZZ Council states that the only way out of the crisis is a radical change in the binding economic system.

The following must be the basis for social support for progress in the economy with the aim of caching up with the civilized world:
—high wages for good work,
—socially accepted income diversification,
—possibility to purchase goods in stores and access to services,
—inter-human relations based on ideals of equality and social justice.

The OPZZ calls on all mainstreams of the trade union movement to endorse at the roundtable meeting the warranted demands for an improvement of the working and living conditions of people of honest work.

The OPZZ Council accepts wage indexation and social benefits as a temporary solution. Indexation cannot deepen the existing disproportions in wages. It must be common and just.

THe OPZZ Council unequivocally speaks in favour of developing all social organizations, associations and political clubs, democratization of socio-political life and strengthening of the right of the individual in accordance with the experience of the civilized world. Freedom of expression of views and participation in political life call for the lifting of preventive censorship. Democratization must be associated with an expansion of the role of workers' self-management and local self-government with the participation of working people. Trade union pluralism, without democratization of political life in the sense of new political movements being founded, introduces political struggle in the most brutal forms to workplaces.

The OPZZ Council deems it necessary to state that the trade union movement representing seven million members is constrained in the equal-rights participation in the work of the "roundtable." The numbers of representatives of the OPZZ side in the debates of respective teams go to show this as well as making it impossible in some cases to co-chair team work. Such a state of affairs signifies an open questioning of the importance of the independent trade union movement which constitutes an independent social force. THe OPZZ Council obliges the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the OPZZ to further strive to boost the participation of our representation in the works of the "roundtable."

The OPZZ Council demands of those possessing the mass media to ensure our representatives at the "roundtable" an equal-right, along with other social forces, presentation of their stance for tv cameras.

The OPZZ Council deems it necessary to undertake activities to preserve social peace. At the same time we share the anxiety of broad social circles over strikes, protests and intra-workplace conflicts. Hitherto experience nonetheless shows that the main cause of the conflicts and worker disputes is bureaucratic sluggishness and lack of reaction on the part of the economic administration to the just demands of employees.

Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski took the floor at the debates (we are carrying his address separately).

In the discussion following the address the participants stated that the OPZZ must get ready to face the new situation, the fallout of future trade union pluralism and particularly the registration of a new trade union with a strong structure gathering employees of various branches. That is why there is a need to speed up the convening of the second trade union congress and to ponder the possiblity of fortifying the structure and boosting the efficiency of the OPZZ.

Alfred Miodowicz also endorsed this. He thought it purposeful to convene the congress as early as this year. The reborn trade unions demand respect of the principles contained in the stand of the 10th PUWP CC Plenum and continue to back the postulate of an obligatory joint trade union representation in workplaces and on other levels, Miodowicz stressed.

The participants decided to empower the Council of Labour Veterans and the OPZZ Secretariat to address an open letter to the government regarding an expeditious commencement of negotiations with the OPZZ on the draft new law on pensions so that it could take effect as of January 1 1990.

Further on OPZZ Assessment

LD2502105189 Warsaw PAP in English 2136 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—Assessing the to-date course of work by the roundtable team for trade union pluralism, the Vice-Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Romuald Sosnowski told a press conference today that the fundamental issue discussed at the roundtable, concerning the introduction of trade union pluralism, had encountered unexpected difficulties.

At today's session three different stands were presented on the question of a joint representation which would elaborate a uniform view on the negotiations with managements of enterprises concerning issues of crucial importance for crews. No consensus was achieved. The OPZZ side proposed to organize a referendum of a crew in case of trade unions representatives being unable to arrive at a joint stand, with the referendum's results being conclusive for all trade union organizations.

Sosnowski pointed out that the situation in the team was favourable in the respect that "we are getting better acquainted with each other and we are trying to understand each other, although we cannot, as a representation of OPZZ, abandon some stipulations defending rights of workers for which we have been struggling for years."

Krzysztof Andrzejczyk presented the course of debate in the sub-team for ecology which completed today the discussion on a 17-item programme of environmental protection. He said that OPZZ representatives had postulated an absolute ban on the inflow of waste to Poland and called for representing a concrete programme of the development of power engineering which would be based on economic calculus.

Miodowicz News Conference

LD2502024289 Warsaw PAP in English
0213 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz today held a press conference, which began with an accusation put to the OPZZ by Polish newsmen that it had no right to demand support from the mass media because it did not support the newsmens efforts to reach a new collective contract. Miodowicz explained that the OPZZ supported such endeavours but that the relevant federation of trade unions was the main advocate of the professional interests of journalists and the defence of these interests hinged upon its consistency.

Commenting on the statement of the OPZZ council, Miodowicz drew attention to the fact that many social programs thus far socially accepted, pertaining both to social and economic life, were not subsequently put into effect. We express doubts whether all suggestions forwarded and written down at the "roundtable" or all arangements concerning agreement will be implemented, Miodiwocz said.

When all sides participating in the "roundtable" debates are striving for peace, the OPZZ is stirring up strikes. Is this a sign of the OPZZ's struggle for a place in the political landscape or rather a recollection that the OPZZ exists? This was one of the questions addressed to Miodowicz. The OPZZ has never organized strikes, Miodowicz replied, adding that it even had no powers to do so. The all-Poland alliance has no influence on the activities of self-governing trade unions in workplaces. Moreover, we consider strikes to be outright destructive for the country's economy. That is why the statement of the OPZZ Council clearly states that it speaks in favour of peace, Miodowicz said.

Replying to one of the questions concerning joint trade union representation, Miodowicz referred to his address during the inauguration of the "roundtable" debates when he spoke about the need to create a seed of agreement in the interest of the working people. Indeed, we want to have such a joint representation.

UPP Spokesman on Trade Unions

LD2502025389 Warsaw PAP in English
0217 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—Taking a stand on common trade union representation at a workplace, spokesman of the United Peasant Party (UPP) at the "roundtable" Janusz Tarniewski told reporters here today that the UPP thought that the trade union sides had to as swiftly as possible reach agreement on: whether to make joint statements on all questions envisaged by law or whether to limit themselves to such problems as setting up a system of remunerations, factory collective agreements and the regulations of awarding bonuses.

When trade unions operating at a factory do not work out a common stand, one should create such legal conditions and framework as to secure normal functioning of enterprises.

The UPP confirms the need for trade union pluralism in the countryside and comes out for the legal opportunity for farmers socio-professional organizations to change their status into that of trade union organizations.

Working Group Drafting TU Law

LD2502025789 Warsaw PAP in English
0127 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—The "roundtable" working group drafting a law on trade unions of private farmers adopted assumptions of the law without discussion, Justice Vice-Minister Jan Brol told a news conference at the Government Press Centre here today.

The law will contain a provision guaranteeing equal rights to all professional organizations of farmers. Representatives of the currently operating farmers organizations reserved the possibility to change their status into a trade union status for themselves, Brol said.

Subteam on Self-Management, Ownership Meets

LD2502153389 Warsaw PAP in English
1429 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25—The "roundtable" working group for self-government and ownership forms held a meeting today at which a significant rapprochement of

stances was reached regarding the lifting of some limitations still constraining the operations of self-governments. It was postulated to expand the forms of self-governments or other forms of the co-participation of crews in managing enterprises.

A need was agreed upon to create a body acting in the name of the State Treasury which would take over supervision over state property from the founding bodies of enterprises. The sides discussed preliminary draft plans regarding the appointment of managerial cadres in enterprises and cutting the list of enterprises of special importance. The need for a constitutional confirmation of the equal-rights of the functioning of various forms of property was jointly endorsed.

Media Subteam Official on Outcome of Talks

LD2502234489 Warsaw PAP in English
2143 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25—"I am more pleased with today's meeting than a week ago, because there has been progress allowing us to think with optimism about the said social accord being worked out at the roundtable," Bogdan Jachacz, co-chairman of the mass media subteam in the roundtable conference on the side of the government-coalition told journalists today.

Jachacz went on to say that the talks had two phases. The first one comprised an exchange of arguments on the vision of political affairs, problems of social accords and history of this country in various perspectives and vision of future.

We did not avoid difficult topics that divide not only us at the table but the nation at large. Of course differences still exist in many points but it is important that retaining our identity we were chiefly thinking of Poland's future. This is the supreme goal which links us at the table. This exchange of arguments has eased various mutual prejudices and resentments. It was held in the spirit of sincerity thus giving a chance for understanding and agreement. I hope the talks free of obscuring the differences and identities of the people at the negotiating table will bear some permanent fruit. This is what all of us want.

The second, working part of the meeting revealed considerable convergence of views on the problems hitherto addressed to the mass communication media, that is press, radio, and television, to their work and future. This allows me to look with optimism on what will happen a week from now at the next meeting, Jachacz stressed.

We now have 70-80 per cent of the agreement. But the question of time for "Solidarity" in the radio and TV programmes, as well as the calendar of the reforms, what should be done today and what tomorrow, these remain to be points of divergence and dispute, Jachacz concluded.

Solidarity 'Press' Demanded

LD2502234189 Warsaw PAP in English
1946 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25—The "roundtable" subteam for mass media held a second meeting today which was co-chaired by Bogdan Jachacz and Krzysztof Kozlowski.

Kozlowski opened the debates, stressing that certain tangencies surfaced in the talks held on the previous Saturday as well as considerable differences of opinion. We were happy to hear that the government coalition considers the system of social communication, including the way of press, radio and TV organization and operation as outdated and that restructuring in these fields must correspond to the changing political relations.

We demand a restructuring of the information infrastructure so that Solidarity could have its press, including a "Solidarity" weekly in the forefront and local weeklies as well as farmers' press and that an independent daily national news bullletin under the auspices of people around the citizen's committee (rallied behind Lech Walesa) be finally set up. Otherwise guarantees about the lasting place for the opposition in the political system of Poland will be empty words.

Proceeding to postulates concerning radio and television, Kozlowski stated that thus far the only concession was a proposal to set up a trade union editorial and religious office subordinated, of course, to the present radio and TV committee. However, a diversification of programs is not enough for us: We want to have a real impact on at least a part of them, Kozlowski said, adding that a concept of television modelled after the BBC, would be worthy of support.

Both sides agree that the functions of censorship should today be curtailed and done away with in the long run. We were also at one that it is necessary to create conditions enabling the normal, open operations of "second circulations" (underground) publishing.

Lastly, the matter which seems to arouse the greatest emotions: At issue is the recent past, objective wrongs inflicted upon people, including our journalists' milieu. The notorious verifications and the brutal elimination of the SDP Polish Journalists' Union to which we all belonged, have broken up the journalists' milieu, Kozlowski said.

Jachacz took a stance on many matters touched upon by Kozlowski. He stated that a new political alignment was being set up which will call for a change in the hitherto alignment in the mass media.

We decisively reject the package of demands concerning the so-called verification of journalists. It was an inextricable part of the dramatic decision to introduce martial law and we do not agree with a back door attempt to question the decision of December 13, 1981.

We firmly proceed from the premise of the integrity of state television and Polish radio which—in the named of the Sejm—is managed by the Polish Government. This means that postulates of cutting the radio and television program into independent outlets managed from the outside out of the question. We endorse the possibly greatest opening of the press, radio and television to present diverse pluralistic views, reasons, values expressed by all legally operating political and social forces, including "Solidarity." We speak in favour of freedom of sources of information and the lifting of information barriers in the name of the broadest social interest, Jachacz said.

Jachacz went on to present concrete proposals:

—Setting up the "Solidarity" weekly will not encounter any obstacles when "Solidarity" is legally founded. A specific amount of paper could be earmarked for the start of the weekly.

—We are for lifting the rationing of printing paper.

—We share the postulate of expeditiously amending the press law with a view to replacing the principle of licensing of periodicals with the principle of registration.

—We think that given a printing paper market and an amended press law, there will be no formal-legal obstacles to set up periodicals, newspapers, including those postulated by the Solidarity-opposition side.

—The third TV program and the fifth radio program could be created in Poland in the coming years. They should take on the character of pluralistic, civil programs.

—The leadership of the radio and TV committee forwards an offer to expand the composition of the program council with representatives of "Solidarity."

—The government expresses its readiness to start work on the draft law introducing legal "order on the air" for the protection of the interests of the state and national culture.

—The management of the radio and TV committee intends to earmark 10 percent of the radio and TV time for the needs of the Sejm election campaign. This time could be used by all political and social forces taking part in these elections according to the principle of parity reflecting the division of mandates in the Sejm. A similar rule would pertain to government press.

—The management of the radio and TV committee upholds its readiness to ask the Sejm for consent for live coverage of parliamentary debates. It also forwards an intention to start appropriate talks with Poland's episcopate on consent and determination of the terms of broadcasting Sunday mass on TV.

—We declare our readiness to expand the composition of the press council attached to the premier to cover representatives of "Solidarity."

—The government upholds its readiness to embark upon a fundamental reform of censorship, lifting obligatory preventive control in favour of subsequent control. The moment "Solidarity" starts operating legally, we propose that its representatives participate in the main college of the office of control of publications and shows.

These proposals and the postulates of the other side mainly pertaining to television and radio and changes in the press law were next the topic of broad discussion.

It was decided that the next meeting would take place on March 4.

Roundtable Officials Comment on Results

LD2502234889 Warsaw PAP in English
2042 GMT 25 Feb 89

[By Jerzy Redlich]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25—At the start of a press conference held after the debates of roundtable subteams here today, the spokesman for the opposition-Solidarity side made a statement on the fact that Sejm (Polish parliament) had passed a law on some conditions for economic consolidation in Poland. Said Janusz Onyszkiewicz: "The law was strongly questioned by Solidarity within the roundtable team for economy and social policy, but was passed despite the fact. This augurs badly for the further course of the roundtable discussion on economic issues."

Krzysztof Kozlowski, one of the co-chairmen of the team for mass media, said "We received answers to some of our postulates today. However, it is still a long way to bringing our stands closer on a new information order," he added. Only the concrete porposals tabled today by the government-coalition sides will provide a basis for further business-like discussion, he said, adding that the side he represents agrees to making 50 percent of the national amount of printing paper commercial. The opposition-Solidarity side wants breaking the monopoly of the RSW Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch publishing cooperative. In answer to a remark made by one of the newsmen the RSW is credited with broad publishing and popularizing activity, Kozlowski said he meant liquidation of the PUWP monopoly on printing and distribution.

Hanna Luczywo, who sits on the same team as Kozlowski, suggested that the government side should agree to a moratorium on prosecution of illegal publications. What I mean is a political decision, she added. Luczywo refused to agree with the opinion voiced by one reporter who said illegal press has the lure of a forbidden fruit. Luczywo's reply was that in step with pluralism of the press getting ever more widespread some publications will presumably emerge from the illegal circulation and stand competion with the official papers.

Jacek Ambroziak, who also attended the conference, said the opposition-Solidarity side comes out against repressive censorship as this entails huge losses (wasted paper and printing costs).

Marcin Krol in turn argued that confiscation of a single issue of his RES PUBLICA monthly would amount to the periodical's bankruptcy.

Mining Team Ends Deliberations; Talks To Resume

No Agreement Reached

LD2502210189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] The mining subteam has ended its deliberations. Unfortunately today agreement was not reached on the reinstatement of miners who were dismissed after December 1981 which was proposed by the opposition Solidarity side with the support of the OPZZ.

The government coalition side agrees to the employment of those employees who were dismissed after the August strikes last year. On the other hand, if it is a matter of issues prior to that date, they ought, in the opinion of the government coalition to be more broadly examined. It is a question not only of miners but also of people from other professions who met with the same fate. In view of the lack of agreement the issue was recorded in the protocol of divergences of opinion.

There is also no agreement on the length of a miners working day. The opposition demands, we recall, a 5-day week, compared with the now obligatory 6-day week. The discussion is to be continued.

OPZZ Statement on Talks

LD2502210589 Warsaw PAP in English 1859 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25—The POLISH PRESS AGENCY has received a statement of OPZZ Press Spokesman Franciszek Ciemny on the "roundtable" subteam for mining affairs.

The statement reads in part in that the OPZZ representation referred to all matters included in the agenda, presenting its own, independent view. The trade union postulates aim in the direction of a radical change of the principles of remuneration. It was thought necessary to maintain a constant wage preference in mines against the average wage in the processing industry.

Representatives of the OPZZ spoke in favour of having miners decide themselves whether they wanted to work on non-working Saturdays. An official protest was filed against the administration for breaching this rule.

As regards the matter of repression against miners, organizers of illegal strikes, touched upon at the first meeting of the subteam, the OPZZ proceeds from the premise that respect for work as well as the dignity of people who were wronged as a result of trade union activity should be respected and the wrongs made up for.

During debates of the subteam for mass media affairs, representatives of the OPZZ stated that trade unions endorsed the abolition of censorship perceived by the common man as a kind of official allotment permitting the implementation of the elementary civil right, namely the right to inform and be informed.

Roundtable Subteam on Ecology Continues Meetings

LD2502073289 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—Today, the "roundtable" subteam for ecology, co-chaired by Jerzy Kolodziejski and Stefan Kozlowski, continued to discuss new items of a programme presented by the opposition-Solidarity side. Participants in the debates reached full consensus, saying that Poland will not receive any wastes or garbage and will refuse wastes coming from other countries to be stored or utilized in her own territory and that every attempt of that kind will be prosecuted with entire consistency under law.

Nuclear power industry is a topic arousing the greatest controversies. Both sides agree that Poland is now in an energy trap and that the economy does not stand chances to develop without solving the energy question. Differences of opinions concern the ways of getting out of this situation and the ways of further developing power industry.

The government side supports a programme to develop nuclear power industry without which Poland will not be able to meet her energy needs in the future.

The opposition-Solidarity side presented a different concept to solve the problem without introducing nuclear power industry, as we have considerable reserves in this area. This side proposed to stop the exports of coal and to rationalize the consumption of energy in industry. In the opinion of the opposition-Solidarity side, economic situation of the entire country and its civilizational and economic backwardness do not guarantee the ability to build a nuclear power plant in such a way as to guarantee full safety.

In view of differences of opinion, both sides decided that a special team of experts would deal with the problem of power industry, examining arguments of every side.

Roundtable Working Group on Health Meets

LD2502021889 Warsaw PAP in English 0130 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—A working group for employees and self-government, elected from the "roundtable" subteam for health, assembled here today to wages and economic status of health service employees.

Both sides jointly decided that the period of implementing the reform in health service must be shortened as much as possible: the target date is till 1990. As for

wages, the group sized up that the index envisaged in the budget sphere was too low for health service. Both sides also came to a joint conclusion that the coming half year should be devoted to preparing a changed and best possible system of wages for health service employees.

Christian Social Union Spokesman on Roundtable

LD2502034989 Warsaw PAP in English
2348 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—Spokesman for the Christian Social Union Krzysztof Bielecki told newsmen today that the union postualtes that the problems of family should be discussed at a separate "roundtable" team. The Union comes out for protecting family particularly against side-effects of reforming the economy.

The union does not agree to base the buying of flats entirely on market principles because this would make apartments inaccessible for most families whose material conditions do not enable them to purchase flats at free-market prices.

The union thinks that schools should be neutral as regards world outlook.

Government Reaches Agreement With Farmers Union

LD2602014389 Warsaw PAP in English
2205 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 25—The inter-ministerial team ended two days of talks with the Protest Committee of the Union of Farmers' Circles and Organizations after reaching agreement.

A protest committee of the Union of Farmers from the Elblag Voivodship took part. The negotiations have led to agreement on ways of solving production, economic and social problems of agriculture the sluggish handling of which by various institutions and organizations has aroused discontent and protests among farmers. The protocol signed by both sides today constitutes the basis for calling off the protest action in farmers' circles.

The chairman of the Protest Committee, Henryk Siedlecki, a farmer from the Elblag Voivodship told PAP following the signing of the protocol that the talks were difficult but matter-of-fact. Our proposals concerning raising the procurement prices for farming produce have been partially taken into account in the changes of economic conditions, now being prepared, which will be introduced in an urgent procedure. The government side stated that arriving at parity solutions between the incomes of the agrarian and non-agrarian population will be possible in May.

Until the situation in agriculture is fully assessed, the government will maintain official prices for production means for agriculture at the present level. We have endorsed the activities of the government aimed at introducing market mechanisms into farming produce trade, Siedlecki said.

The amendments to the law on farmers' pensions adopted at the last Sejm meeting meet halfway the suggestions forwarded by farmers' unions in this respect. Long-term postulates will be taken into account in the new law which is to take effect in 1991.

We have been assured that the farmers' demand for credit will be fully covered, Siedlecki revealed.

Sejm Convenes; Examines Policies, Adopts Laws

Resolution on Foreign Policy

LD2502040589 Warsaw PAP in English
1946 GMT 24 Feb 89

["Sejm Resolution on Poland's Foreign Policy (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—The Sejm states with satisfaction that international transformations help improve external conditions for realization of Poland's national interests. Foreign policy should be based on winning international support for political and economic reforms and on improved solvency.

The Sejm attaches particular significance to developing comprehensive relations with the Soviet Union and the remaining socialist states, to strengthening the Warsaw Treaty, its political functions in particular, and to changing the structure of CMEA and mechanisms of cooperation within this organization.

As for Western states, the Sejm comes out for a continuation of the policy of openness and activeness in all directions. This applies above all to Poland's relations with the United States and Western European countries.

The Sejm attaches particular significance to intensification of Poland's European policies, to efforts aimed at overcoming the division of Europe and at creating conditions for the building of a common European home.

The Sejm is convinced that it is necessary to basically improve relations with the FRG on the basis of the Potsdam Agreement and the December 7, 1970 treaty, to return to traditionally close links with France, to develop cooperation and rapprochement with other Western European countries and with the EEC, and speed up normalization of relations with the Vatican.

The Sejm comes out for a full realization of the provisions of the final document of the Vienna CSCE meeting signed in January 1989.

The Sejm is convinced that it is necessary to maintain Poland's intensive activeness in the field of disarmament, and especially in the oncoming negotiations of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries on conventional armed forces and the 35-nation CSCE negotiations on new confidence-building measures. Poland contributed to the search for optimum disarmament solutions with the plan for decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe whose realization will enter the negotiating phase once the new talks begin.

The Sejm also comes out for an increasingly active cooperation with developing countries, in the economic area in particular.

The Sejm holds the view that Poland's foreign policy should envisage an important role for an open policy towards the Polish emigration.

The Sejm is deeply convinced that the process of internal reforms in Poland and the ensuing inherent striving for national agreement, permit, more effectively than hitherto, to create positive external conditions for our internal restructuring.

Draft Laws on Agriculture

LD2502023289 Warsaw PAP in English
2331 GMT 24 Feb 89

["Sejm on Agriculture"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—In the second part of the debates, the Sejm started examining drafts of agricultural laws. The first of them is a draft law on social insurance for private farmers and members of their families and on amending the law on agricultural tax.

Another draft law on social fund for the countryside brings to an end long-term expectations of farmers and persistent efforts made by the national union of farmers and farmers circles and organizations from the start of the 1980s to set up the fund.

A draft amending the law on merging and exchanging arable lands aims to remove barriers considerably impeding the course of this process.

The governments own amendment introduces an institution of exchanging arable lands.

Another document is a draft law "amending the law on selling the state agricultural landed property and on bringing in order some questions linked to the carring out of the agrarian reform and agrarian settlements."

Participants in the discussion on these laws, that preceded their adoption, said that their guiding idea was to make the countrysides' living standards equal to that in the towns. The slogan has been known since the start of people's Poland. Unfortunately, it has not been implemented so far. The laws mentioned above are a step towards civilizational advancement of the Polish countryside.

Independent Sejm Deputy Mieczyslaw Stachura of the Pax Catholic Association said the past few years confirmed considerable resistance of the Polish countryside to crises. The source of this resistance seem to be laboriousness, resourcefulness and commitment to voluntary public feats and farmers neighbourly assistance. However, this resistance has its limits. That is why it is necessary to make changes in the sphere of production to develop means of production for agriculture and the agricultural and food processing industry. It is also necessary to create normal food markets with all consequences stemming from this.

Adopts Law on Economy

LD2502023489 Warsaw PAP in English
0000 GMT 25 Feb 89

["Sejm on Consolidation of National Economy"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—The Sejm adopted yet another law, deciding to introduce it into the daily agenda, today with 7 votes against and 16 abstentions. This is a law on some conditions for consolidating national economy and on changing some laws. The draft aroused controversies and was taken off the daily agenda at the previous meeting to make further specifications (which had already been done).

Sejm Deputy Rapporteur Jozef Kiszka stressed that this legal regulation was to serve to remove limitations, to create conditions to speed up, start and to pursue all economic activity and to strengthen market mechanisms.

Authorizing the premier to recall director of a state enterprise (clearly defining the criteria of his assessment), parliamentary committees decided that the giving of such a right aimed to limit inflation and to stop the race of prices and wages. The law applies not only to such questions as dividing, merging or shutting down an enterprise. It also sanctions the legal possibility to conduct economic experiment and to test innovative solutions before spreading them throughout Poland. The government should have the right to experiment on a microscale, as the practice of experiments on the entire economic organism had many a time fatal consequences in the past.

PAP Reviews Sejm Session

LD2502010689 Warsaw PAP in English
2252 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—European priority is the main conclusion reached during the debate on Poland's foreign policy held at a Sejm (parliament) meeting today.

The debate also concerned rural problems. 4 laws were passed whose leitmotif is to equalize the level of living standards in the countryside with that in cities.

Today, the Sejm also passed a law on some conditions of consolidating the national economy and on the change of some laws.

The agenda was complemented with a report of the Economic Plan, Budget and Finance committee, the Self-Government Affairs committee and the Legislative Procedure Committee on the government draft law on some conditions of the consolidation of the national economy and on the change of some laws.

Deputy Ryszard Bender (non-aligned), quoting a request of the solidarity side tackling political reforms at the "roundtable" asked the Sejm speaker whether it would be possible to adjourn—with a view to discussing in the teams of the meeting—two points of the agenda. At issue are the first two rural laws. The deputy quoted an opinion that as concerns details these laws contradicted the arrangements reached in "roundtable" teams.

The speaker replied that this motion was already reviewed by the Sejm Presidium and the convention of senior deputies. In the current legal state there are no discrepancies. As concerns the reservations which in the context of these laws are associated with the legalization of "solidarity", it will be possible to introduce complements in line with the motion of "solidarity" following its legalization.

Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Tadeusz Olechowski presented a government report on the directions and tasks of Poland's foreign policy and the international situation. (We are carrying the report separately).

Czyrek's Address

Deputy Jozef Czyrek took the floor during the discussion in the name of the PUMP floor group.

Poland, with its thousand-year tradition has a full right to partake in the life of the European Community and to introduce its own values to it. The Jaruzelski Plan is one of the important factors contributed by us to the common future of Europe. In economic cooperation and European integration we also see a way of overcoming our economic difficulties. This does not however mean that we will resign from our national interests, because there are limits which cannot be exceeded. At the same time one should remember that everything that Poland does for internal peace is constructive factor in the consolidation of peace in Europe. We want to overcome those divisions which still exist in Europe. This is because there is no Poland without Europe but also no Europe without Poland. We wish for a Poland open to the world but also a world open to Poland. These are the main goals and tasks of our foreign policy which is in line with the Polish reason of state.

Poland in Europe, The World

A whole range of issues was touched upon during the Sejm debate in which general approval was expressed for Polands foreign policy.

Speaking in the name of the floor group of the UPP United Peasant Party, Deputy Witold Lipski stated that the time had come to honestly assess Poland's participation in the CMEA. The current shape of the organization, its operations do not meet the challenges of the future, he said.

Our foreign policy should focus on Europe in the CSCE frame, that is on our continent plus the U.S. and Canada. For a great many reasons, we wish to normalize relations and comprehensive cooperation with the FRG, Lipski said.

Deputy Jan Janowski (SD Democratic Party), speaking in the name of the SD floor group, stated:

We must strive for Poland to play the possibly greatest role in the construction of a common European house.

We think that the visit of Premier Rakowski to Bonn at the beginning of this year will bear fruit of new impulses like his recent visit to Paris which is a chance for a new opening in relations with France.

Deputy Ryszard Wojna (PUWP) stated: We should concentrate our diplomatic, political and economic endeavours first and foremost on those countries which have an objective interest in entering into deep cooperation with Poland.

Deputy Jozef Wojcik (Non-Aligned, PAX) stressed that 1992 would be an important year for Polish foreign policy in the perspective of Europe as a whole. It could create new all-European opportunities for our country, he pointed out.

Reaching a balance of interests between Poland, the Soviet Union and both German states in a united Europe—in the construction of which we are vally interested—is a matter of paramount importance, Wojcik said.

On Foreign Debt

In its programmatic guidelines the Democratic Party very strongly stressed that Poland should actively join international activities for natural environment protection. We support the strivings to convert a part of our foreign debt into investments in the field of environmental protection, Deputy Jankowski said.

Deputy Jerzy Uzieblo of the PUWP stated that society painfully experiences the effects of foreign debt servicing and pins hopes on the activities of the foreign service aimed at gaining more advantageous terms of debt repayment.

Deputy Tadeusz Myslik (Non-Aligned, Polish Social Catholic Union PZKS) stated that Polish foreign policy was on the whole not questioned by circles of the constructive opposition which sat down to the "roundtable" with representatives of the centre-left coalition. But the fact that the policy is not questioned is not enough. We want to believe that a list of matters common to all Poles will be agreed upon at the "roundtable" and the good name of Poland, concern for this good name will rank foremost on this list. Then at least a part of our hopes, which we pin on the unprecedented dialogue of poles, will come true, Myslik stated.

Benders Address

Deputy Ryszard Bender (Non-Aligned) stated that the government attaches due weight to international affairs. Premier Rakowski did not neglect this field. His visit to France and the earlier ones to the FRG and Austria go to show this, Bender stated.

The deputy drew attention to those endeavours of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which meet with positive social response. This pertains to an intensification of efforts regarding the delineation of the Pomeranian Bay. The matter of Katyn is growing clearer albeit surely too slowly. We hope that this matter, which focuses other Stalinist crimes which affected the Polish nation, will be explained soon and will cease to be an obstacle in the correct establishment of Polish-Soviet relations on new foundations taking account of mutual reasons of state.

On Polania

Deputy Roman Pillardy (PUWP) stated that contacts with Polonian milieus in socialist states constitute one of the key issues of Polish emigration.

There are matters which call for an open and responsible deliberation. At issue is the Polish minority living in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Ethnic minorities live in Poland too, Pillardy said, expressing a conviction that one must firmly strive to close a difficult page and overcome mistrust and biases which have piled up.

Poland-FRG

Deputy Edward Kowalczyk (Democratic Party) stated that relations between Poland and the FRG must be an important field of foreign policy. Much has changed for the better but there are phenomena which show that German expansionism has not totally capitulated but only changes its nature, Kowalczyk said.

Following the debate on foreign policy matters, the Sejm passed a resolution on Poland's foreign policy with 3 abstentions. (We are carrying the text separately). Deputy Edmund Meclewski (Non-Aligned) presented a proposal of another amendment just before the vote. Parliament did not take it into account.

Owing to the late hour, the Sejm decided to adjourn the last point of Friday's agenda, that is question time, till its next meeting.

Rakowski Chairs Meeting on Political Situation

LD2502185389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] The Government Press Office informs that a meeting of the Council of Ministers was held today under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The political situation of the country was the subject of the deliberations.

The government assessed the state of the roundtable talks against the background of the social situation. Strikes and protest actions harm the economy and disturb the reform process. National accord and creating pluralist democracy are a historic experiment whose success depends on many factors, and social peace is the most important among them. Street riots which have been incited in recent days in the streets of Krakow by irresponsible groups of students aim against the idea of the roundtable, undermine the principles of dialogue, and do a disservice to Poland's international position. The collapse of the program of radical reforms would have tragic effects on the future of the country and also on those who organize scuffles and riots.

The Council of Ministers has made decisions which aim at preventing a destabilization of the state. The government instructed the bodies protecting public order to firmly counteract the signs of breaking the law, as abiding by the law is a condition for the development of democracy.

Addresses Council of Ministers

LD2502232789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2105 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Speech by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, 25 February, place not given—recorded]

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. A session of the Council of Ministers was held today during which we discussed the recent political events in Poland. I would like to share with you with my remarks. They are remarks and opinions of the premier but at the same time of a citizen, after all. The first issue is the course of the roundtable debates. These debates are watched by the whole world, they are carefully watched in Poland, they are analyzed. There are even compatriots who are becoming impatient that nothing has been achieved there.

I, too, would like to see an agreement reached quickly, but I realize that it is not so easy, because at the table there are people of different political orientations, of different viewpoints, and working out or deciding on the joint program in the most significance matters for Poland is not so easy. But I believe in it; I am convinced that a common language will finally be found at the roundtable or at a number of smaller tables, and at lower tables where one talks on different matters concerning [word indistinct] the entire political, social and economic life in our country.

I will only (?propose) the most important issues. Obviously, above all reaching an agreement, as I have already said, in several most important issues. Among them it is necessary to mention both the definition of the relationships, or the stance in view of reforming the economy, using which (?model), what tempo. So one has to achieve divergence as to what has to be done.

There is also an issue of the elections, setting the date for the elections, the electoral law, and everything that is connected with the elections. There is also an issue of [word indistinct] of Solidarity. There is an issue of the place of the trade unions in an enterprise. I must say that all this is braced by yet another clamp, namely, the issue of creating such political conditions, and such guarantees so that in Poland, in this new political model which is being shaped, the constructive opposition and all other forces which are interested, which are in favor, of the development of socialism in Poland cooperate harmoniously. Here, first of all, I have in mind the party to which I belong, allied parties, various other groupings (?which) linked their fate with the socialist political system. Of course one has to remember that there are no wizards at the table but only normal people.

This is, as I think, a very important reminder because they are not in a position to suddenly conjure up a different better Poland, a Poland whose economy is going to work at once on very healthy principles. I add in any case that I am not a magician either, and remind you that when I took up the office of premier in my speech in the Sejm I spoke not only about the government's intentions but I also asked citizens whether they would be inclined to take part in the implementation of the economic reform and if they would be inclined to accept all those reforms which are not always and cannot be extremely advantageous for everyone. Questions are asked if there really is such a agreement. I would say both yes and no.

Part of society—I base myself on my knowledge about it—agrees that it is necessary to take into consideration the results of the economoic reform, in other words, to put it simply, base the whole economy on laws functioning in the economy, and part does not agree. In this context I would like to talk about what frightens me. That is the strikes that have been breaking out in various places in Poland in the last few weeks. I am not going to go into who is organizing the strikes, whether they only have a spontaneous character, whether there are willful organizers, whether [word indistinct] prepare the strike. One thing is sure and that is with the help of what we call the strike pistol, attempts are being made to obtain higher pay. To what degree the concessions or the decisions on pay raises are in accord with the enterprise's interests, I have no reply to that.

I believe that the directors calculate what they have and what they can give this year. In any case I would like to add, to remind you, that if a given work enterprise pays well above the limit it will have a sad end and the day will come when someone will come from the bank and say there is no money unfortunately.

I am not, however, calling for the strikes to be stopped, because that does not lie within my power, it depends precisely on people. What is more, I am not appealing to you, but quite simply leave it up to the citizens. Let them decide themselves whether it is advantageous for Poland, because I want to say that we will not get a step nearer to the desired aim by strikes.

We are only making the situation worse on the market, increasing inflation, with prices being increased as a result, because the money has to be found somewhere. [sentence as heard] I am not certain that these price increases are always justified.

Finally, another matter that interests me very much and makes me feel somewhat concerned: brawls that took place in the streets of Krakow and Warsaw. I have been told, I have been informed, that those brawls were organized by groups of young people, particularly students. Well, I want to say that if this is what political pluralism in Poland is supposed to look like and this is what democracy is supposed to be like, I sincerely thank you very much. I also think that phenomena of this kind may have some deeper background, they breach public order and public peace, which is needed by Poland as much as a man needs air. What is more, from what I know, many people are simply worried by such brawls.

You know, ladies and gentlemen, I have recently been in Paris. I held very many talks there, very important talks. It seems to me that it was a trip that served the interests of our country well. However, at the same time I must say that we have entered a period—I mean the development of the situation in Poland—when the whole world is looking at us. At all geographical locations governments and many citizens are following what is happening in Poland and are raising various questions: What will become of it all? Will the Poles find a language in common? Can they really establish peace and social order?

I would say that today we are taking an exam in civic maturity in front of the whole world. A question arises: Will we pass this exam? This is a fundamental question. I believe in the common sense of the majority of my fellow countrymen. If what I have said today is not too cheerful, this belief however strenghens my conviction

that we are able to overcome these difficulties. As far as I am concerned, I would only like to assure the listeners that, as long as I have the strength, I will try to implement the aims I presented in the Sejm during my first speech. Simply, I have no intention of giving up because of difficulties. In this mood I say good-bye to my fellow countrymen and wish them a peaceful Sunday.

20 Feb Council of Ministers Session Reported

AU2402123389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Feb 89 p 4

[PAP report: "The Council of Ministers Has Met"]

[Text] On 20 February, the Council of Ministers examined the present international situation and the implementation of 1988 Polish foreign policy tasks, and adopted "comprehensive Polish foreign policy tasks for 1989." The Council of Ministers acknowledged the tasks and conclusions for Poland stemming from the Vienna CSCE concluding document.

The PPR Government said that the improvement in the international situation, revival of East-West relations, and commencement of real detente are improving the external conditions for the implementation of the Polish political and economic reforms.

The chief task of Polish foreign policy continues to be a development of partnerlike relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, a consolidation of the alliance of cooperation within the Warsaw Pact framework, and an adaptation of CEMA to the increasing economic mechanisms of cooperation.

The policy of openness toward the industrialized Western countries will be continued. The Council of Ministers also stressed the importance of active relations with developing countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

An active policy toward emigres will be pursued, and conditions will be created for a tightening of the bonds linking emigre Poles with Poland. The Council of Ministers recommended that particular attention should be paid to protecting the legal and economic interests of Polish citizens abroad.

The Council of Ministers adopted the principles of foreign economic cooperation in 1989. These comply with the chief trends in international economic exchange. The latest legal solutions create attractive conditions for an expansion of foreign economic contacts and the establishment of new such contacts. It is envisaged that greater foreign currency incomes for enterprises will be an effective stimulus for exports. There will be a radical reduction in central financing of imports, in favor of self-financing by enterprises and the creation of a foreign currency market. An alteration to the mechanisms of integration and an improvement in bilateral cooperation within CEMA remains an important task in cooperation with the socialist countries. There will be joint ventures in the form of companies set up by independent economic entities according to the principles of efficiency and self-financing. As far as relations with the developed capitalist countries is concerned, a fundamental task is to achieve a higher increase in economic exchange and remove or alleviate the difficulties in obtaining credits. Poland's adoption of a program of adaptation to the IMF will be one of the conditions governing the return of normal financial relations with foreign countries. The new legislation permitting foreign investments in Poland will help intensify foreign cooperation. Broad publicity of this legislation abroad will make foreign investors more interested in pro-export undertakings in Poland.

The Council of Ministers approved a report on 1988 religious policy. This policy helped perpetuate the freedom of conscience and religion, the secular nature of the state, and the freedom for churches and other denominations to perform religious functions. A draft convention between the PPR and Holy See is being prepared. This will provide the basis for full diplomatic relations. A draft law guaranteeing the freedom of conscience and religion is also being prepared. Work on a bill on state-church relations is in the final stages.

The Council of Ministers approved a bill on communal property. This piece of legislation is meant to provide a material basis for territorial self-management bodies, which conforms to the 1988 amendments to the constitution and to the law on people's councils and territorial self-management bodies. The new legislation will enable local communities to satisfy their own needs and improve their areas, in accordance not only with national social objectives, but also with their own priorities. Communal property will be a new, separate category of social property, and will be managed by territorial self-management bodies, whose sub-divisions in rural areas, cities, and city districts will acquire legal status on the day the law comes into effect. The law simplifies the procedure whereby the territorial self-management bodies, and the people's councils acting on their behalf, can assume control of communal property. They will assume control over all those elements of communal property that have so far been in the hands of primary-level people's councils. The draft law foresees the possibility for joint activity by territorial self-management bodies in implementing economic and social goals by allowing these bodies to merge into larger units and decide themselves which areas are to be covered by their activity.

The Council of Ministers and State Council will table this bill on communal property together.

The Council of Ministers adopted a bill on surveying and map-making, which will gather into one whole rules that are currently contained in 5 different acts and over 50 directives. The purpose of this law is to improve the work of surveying bodies and simplify the rules governing their cooperation with other economic units and administrative bodies. Among other things, the bill calls for the duty to implement and update agreements concerning surveying, and update topographical and definitive maps for the entire country. Each economic sector will enjoy equal status in the performance of surveying and cartographical work. The rules governing the protection of surveying marks will be updated. The new act also deals with recording the presence of buildings and plots of land, underground pipes, and boundaries. The rules on surveying and map-making are hereby made to

conform to the law on people's councils and territorial self-management bodies. The proposed solutions are meant to make it easier for citizens to settle their affairs concerning land and property.

The Council of Ministers approved a bill on the market development fund and on the demonopolization of trade, which is meant to increase economic competition; plus a a bill on a central scientific and technological development fund, whose resources will be used to pay for research and inventions.

Legal rules providing legal and economic protection for the workers of closed enterprises were adopted.

Siwicki on Structural Changes in Military

LD2602201589 Warsaw PAP in English 2014 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 26—Polish TV tonight broadcast an interview with Poland's National Defence Minister Florian Siwicki. Excerpts:

At present, in view of favourable development of the international situation and intensification of peaceful tendencies in Europe, we started the process of restructuring in our armed forces. Poland, just as the remaining Warsaw Treaty states, is vitally interested in consolidation of peaceful tendencies. This is also a practical confirmation of proposals envisaged by the Jaruzelski Plan.

Referring to Poland's doctrinal defensive principles Gen Siwicki recalled that the National Defence Committee made a decision (last November) concerning defence and the armed forces which provided grounds for the current, intensive work conducted in the Defence Ministry's institutions. This work yielded a concrete project of changes in the armed forces, the essence of which can be presented in the following way: to possess only as much as really necessary, but at the same time to use it in a better, more effective way. This is a principle that we have for years applied in our work anyway.

Over the past two years we reduced the Armed Forces by nearly 15 thousand men and several hundred pieces of arms and technical equipment. As a result of this, and also due to tougher austerity measures, our outlays for national defence have been systematically dropping since 1987.

At present we are at the start of another two-year stage of reorganization in the Army.

Another two divisions—the 2nd and 15th Mechanized Divisions—will be liquidated. The number of soldiers of the 10th and 16th Armoured Divisions will also be considerably reduced. We will gradually introduce a new universal structure in all divisions whose organizational shape and equipment will conform to requirements posed by present-day defensive activities. We will also liquidate a dozen-so regiments of various kinds, including armoured units, artillery and airforce.

More than thirty territorial defence, engineering-construction and highway-railway units will be transformed into civil defence formations.

Changes will also be made in the organizational system of military education. We plan a merger of the Academy of General Staff and the Political Military Academy.

We also envisage integration of certain officers' schools with related educational programmes. It will also apply to warrant officers' schools and military specialists' training centres. The overall number of schools and centres will be reduced by one-third.

The process of visible changes in the system of management of the Armed Forces and adjustment of its organs to a new structure and size of troops will also envisage reductions in central institutions of the National Defence Ministry and the operational-level command, the intended merger of airforce and air defence units for one.

Far-reaching changes will also take place in the system and forms of the armed forces command and management, first of all computerization, shortened circulation of information, radically reduced reporting.

In a few days' time, on March 3-4, we are going to liquidate two armoured regiments, an operational-tactical rocket brigade, a training vehicle regiment and some other units.

Over the next two years the Armed Forces will be reduced by 40 thousand men, some 850 tanks, 900 cannons and mortars, 700 armoured personnel carriers, 80 combat planes and many pieces of military technical equipment.

Hence, all decisions of ours concerning structural changes in our armed forces will aim at the Army having as many soldiers and as many pieces of equipment as really needed in order to safeguard Poland's security within the Warsaw Treaty's defensive system. Besides, "less" does not have to mean "worse," "weaker," General Siwicki concluded.

Correction to Walesa Speech to Lodz Sympathizers

LD2402180589

The following correction pertains to the item subheaded "'Sucked In' by Government Opening," published in the 23 February East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 27, column 1:

Paragraph one, last sentence through the end of the paragraph: ...these authorities have made such an opening that we have been drawn in and dumbfounded [ze nas wciagnelo i zamurowalo]... replacing "sucked in" with "drawn in" and "bricked up" with "dumbfounded."

Further on Visit by Iranian President Khamene'i

Calls Stand on Rushdie 'Just'

AU2502175889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1741 GMT 25 Feb 89

["Iranian President's Press Conference"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 25/2/1989—At the conclusion of his Romanian visit Iranian President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i met representatives of the Romanian press and foreign press correspondents accredited in Bucharest, on 25 February, in the morning.

Referring to the talks held with President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, the Iranian president said:

The talks I had with President Nicolae Ceausescu were very close and cordial. I can say that throughout the talks an atmosphere of rapprochement and friendship prevailed. Once more we had a chance to convince ourselves that, just like us, Mr President Nicolae Ceausescu wishes to develop more and more the bilateral relations. Let me say also that during the talks we had with Romania's president not just working pacts have been discussed. We approached wider themes, fine talks. In brief, I can say I am very satisfied.

The talks have proved that our countries can collaborate in various domains—economic, technological, scientific, political and cultural. The fact that the sides are prepared to a great extent for this collaboration provides our exchanges with fine prospects.

Together we have signed a protocol which we believe is to improve considerably the level of commercial exchanges. The commercial exchanges exceed one billion dollars. By and large there can be mentioned various domains such as technology as well as considerable commercial exchanges. As I have shown you, the framework of our understanding with Romania is particularly wide and comprehensive.

After condemning the intention of some Western political forums which pressure the Islamic Republic of Iran on the question of writer Salman Rushdie, President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i considered that the stand taken by his country on the issue is just and the policy of pressure will be bear no effect.

In response to the question asked by a Romanian journalist in relation to the prospect of renouncing the application of the decision of the Iranian leadership, which involves the life of a writer owing to the opinions expressed in a novel, a decision which makes the preoccupation of public opinion throughout the world, in Romania included, President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i said that the novel carries the biggest insults which can be brought to a billion muslims.

Writer Calls for Repeal

AU2502162289 Paris AFP in English 1551 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 25 (AFP)—Romanian writer and journalist Neagu Udroiu on Saturday made an appeal to visiting Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i for Iran to "drop its condemnation" of author Salman Rushdie.

Mr Udroiu told a press conference attended by Mr Khamene'i as he prepared to return to Tehran that, on behalf of the Romanian literary community "and many others", he was calling for a repeal of the February 14 death decree issued against the novelist by Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni.

The ayatollah claimed that Mr Rushdie's book, "The Satanic Verses," is blasphemous and has ordered Muslims to kill him.

Mr Udroiu said it was "difficult to understand such a severe attitude towards a man whose profession is to write."

Mr Khamene'i replied that the Indian-born author, brought up in Britain, was "the instrument of a crime" against Muslims and that "the simple fact that he is a writer cannot absolve him."

Writing "The Satanic Verses" was "a crime which demands punishment," the Iranian president said, adding that "the problem is not that an author has written something unacceptable to Muslims" but that he has used "freedom of expression" to "denigrate their ideals" and "insult what is most precious" to them.

We cannot agree to an "abuse of the freedom of speech to drag holy precepts in the mud," he said.

Mr Khamene'i denounced the "pressure campaign" of Western governments and the "biased" press coverage given to the Rushdie affair in the Western press.

The 12 members of the European Economic Community (EEC) this week recalled their ambassadors or heads of mission from Iran, and West Germany has suspended talks on post-Gulf war reconstruction aid to Teheran until the death decree is lifted.

Commenting on his four-day official visit to Bucharest, Mr Khamene'i said that Romania and Iran had a "bright future" ahead of them in terms of economic cooperation, and that bilateral trade would reach one billion dollars per year.

Kosovo Crisis Intensifies; Resignations Tendered

Protests 'Spreading'

AU2302193689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] Raif Dizdarevic, Petar Gracanin, Janez Zemljaric, and Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic are in Kosovo. The protests of workers of Albanian nationality are spreading. Most pupils of Albanian nationality are boycotting classes. Students are continuing their protest. In brief, this is what is happening in the province. Milivoje Mihajlovic has more details:

That the situation in Kosovo is extremely dramatic has been confirmed by the arrival of Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Petar Gracanin, president of the Serbian Presidency, in the capital city of Kosovo this afternoon. They are taking part in the work of the Kosovo Presidency session which is still going on. A statement is expected to be issued later.

The wave of protests in Kosovo is spreading. Workers in many communes have announced general strikes. The Kosovo economy is almost paralyzed and in the last 3 days has been incurring huge loses.

This morning, the Stari Trg miners conditioned the end of their protest by the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija, who is one of the oldest Communists in Kosovo. The other eight demands, the miners say, can only be discussed after that. All this is pointing to the fact that dissatisfaction is primarily directed against the renewed provincial party leadership, which has finally reestablished the links between Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia, which had been broken a long time ago.

This unity bothers the instigators of the protest most. The provocateurs, who are spreading anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav feelings, are becoming increasingly vociferous. Albanian nationalists and separatists are also trying to use the political confusion in Kosovo. This morning they distributed leaflets in which they directly invited Albanians to take up arms. The leaflets attack the leadership of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Kosovo.

At present some 7,000 students of Albanian nationality are holding a protest in Pristina. The 25 May Sports Hall is too small for all of them, and some of them are standing in small groups around the hall. The head of Pristina University, Stevan Baljosevic, appealed to students to stop the protest and the boycott of food, and return to their classes. His appeal fell on deaf ears. Nazmi Mustafa, president of the Kosovo Executive Council, who appealed in the same way, was booed.

In many schools throughout the province the pupils of Albanian nationality are boycotting classes. They were joined by some teachers. Many private shops owned by Albanians have been closed since this morning. In some communes, market inspectors are already taking action against unscrupulous owners.

The extremely tense situation in the province has made almost all communal LC committees hold sessions. They are supposed to establish a course of action which would overcome the current situation.

Kosovo Assembly Makes Plea

LD2402151689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)— The Kosovo Assembly today launched an appeal to the working people of this province, calling them to end the continuing strikes and return to work.

Briefing the delegates on the latest events in Kosovo, Vukasin Jokanovic, president of the provincial assembly, warned that normal life and work have been disrupted and the functioning of the state and constitutional system threatened. However, Jokanovic added, every measure is being taken to ensure normal life, regular supplies, transportation, public peace and order, and to protect major facilities.

Presidium Assesses Situation

AU2402174189 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 15 Feb 89 pp 7-8

["Assessments and Stands on the Mass Protest Meetings and Demonstrations by Citizens of Albanian Nationality in November 1988"]

[Text] At its meeting on 13 February, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium drafted the document: "Assessments and Stands on the Mass Protest Meetings and Demonstrations by Citizens of Albanian Nationality in November 1988." We are publishing the full text of this document:

At its 20th meeting, the LCY Central Committee obligated the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee to assess as soon as possible the causes and nature of the protest meetings and demonstrations held between 17-21 November 1988, to uncover the instigators and organizers of these events, to determine the responsibility of members of the Provincial Committee and of its Presidium for failing to carry out the tasks of the Ninth, 16th, and 17th LCY Central Committee meetings, and to conclude the process of the regeneration of cadres in the Kosovo League of Communists.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, at its emergency meeting on 4 December 1988, approved the "Information on the Mass Protest Meetings and Demonstrations by Citizens of Albanian Nationality Between 17-21

November 1988, the Preliminary Assessments, and the Tasks of the LC Organs and Organizations." However, the procrastination of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee in reaching a complete political assessment of the cause, nature, and substance of the events, and particularly those assessments concerning the aims that the real instigators and organizers of these events intended to achieve through these protest meetings, has caused a certain confusion in the ranks of the LC and broad public opinion. This has led and is leading to further misunderstandings and conflicts, and what is worse, people in Kosovo and beyond are being divided along national lines. All of this is presently reflected in the Kosovo LC, and is further exacerbating the overall political and security situation in the country as a whole. For these reasons, a clear political answer has to be given to these events.

Critically examining and analyzing its own stand and attitude toward these events, as well as its responsibility for the situation that has been created, and its obligations to implement the policy determined by the LCY for Kosovo; on the basis of the more complete information gathered in the course of the activity of the Kosovo LC, as well as the information collected by the state organs of the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province, the Serbian SR, and the SFRY; on the basis of the information, assessment, and stand of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, concerning the implementation of the direct tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee meeting on 11 December 1988, which are related to the problems in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo; and on the basis of the assessments and stands of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Presidency of the SR of Serbia on the current political and security situation in Kosovo, reached at its meeting on 21 November 1988; on the basis of the information on the preliminary assessment of the Provincial Committee, this same Provincial Committee which examined at its meeting on 11 February the causes, intentions, nature, and consequences of the protest meetings and demonstrations by citizens of Albanian nationality between 17-21 November 1988; and in this connection it determines these:

Assessments and Stands

1. The stands of the 17th LCY Central Committee meeting have obligated the Kosovo LC organs and organizations to consistently implement the Kosovo policy determined by the LCY, and primarily, to undertake direct and energetic action to resolve key problems and to achieve unity of thinking and action in its own ranks. However, despite the results attained at the beginning, a real turning point failed to be achieved in overcoming the unfavorable political and general situation in Kosovo.

The socio-political and security situation has worsened. Despite the measures that have been adopted, the Kosovo LC failed to mobilize and activate its own and other subjective forces to put an end to the activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, and the LC organs failed to resolutely and responsibly come to grips with opportunism, passivity, and bureaucracy, that is, with the resistance against the implementation of the LCY policy that is to be found in its own ranks. In the LC and other institutions, the ideopolitical differentiation has not been carried out consistently, openly, in a timely manner, and in a communist spirit. Due to such a situation and relations within the Kosovo LC, it has been impossible to create a single front of activity among all the progressive forces of Kosovo, led by the LC, in order to carry out the tasks set out at the ninth, 16th, and 17th meetings of the LCY Central Committee. This deepened the negative movements and divisions in intranational relations. The measures adopted and actions undertaken by the LC and other organs failed to fully protect the security, rights, and freedoms of citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, whose emigration is continuing with undiminished intensity.

The LCY Central Committee assessed that the main responsibility for the worsening situation lies with the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and its Presidium. Drawing the attention of these organs to this responsibility, the LCY Central Committee also insisted that these organs should also determine the individual responsibility of their members for the failure to achieve the tasks set out, and to adopt all necessary measures, in harmony with the stands of the 13th LCY Congress and of the ninth LCY Central Committee meeting, to stabilize the situation in the province.

Critically assessing the stand of the LC membership, organizations, and organs, as well as other subjects of the system, toward the implementation of the LCY Central Committee, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee assesses that, with regard to the question of evaluating individual responsibility, primarily the responsibility of its own members and those of the Presidium, opportunism and vaccillations have been observed, and defensive attempts have occurred. The way in which the tasks arising from item No. 9 of the 17th LCY Central Committee meeting concerning the responsibility of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium were dealt with, was an attempt to evade individual responsibility and to interpret it in a subjective manner, which was reflected in individual resignations. Due to the inadmissible and irresponsible stand of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium in preparing the 18th Kosovo LC Provincial Committee meeting, the lack of preparedness to allocate individual responsibility, on the one hand, and the categorical demands by the LCY and Serbian LC organs that the tasks arising from the 17th LCY Central Committee meeting be carried out to the last, on the other, part of the Kosovo public opinion, particularly among the Albanian population, got the mistaken impression that pressure was being exerted on the Kosovo leadership and some individual members, especially those cadres from the ranks of this nationality, to resign. This is related to the need and demands for the complete, consistent, and unhesitating implementation

of the stands of the 17th LCY Central Committee meeting, which is an essential prerequisite for creating the unity of thinking and action of the Kosovo LC in the struggle to stabilize the situation in the province. However, this obligation to assess individual responsibility was not carried out by the Kosovo LC organs. All this deepened the divisions, suspicions, and confrontations along national lines in connection with the question of the responsibility of members of the Kosovo Provincial LC Committee. Such divisions were also observed in the Kosovo LC—from the basic organizations up to the Kosovo Provincial LC Committee and its Presidium. This seriously endangered its political capabilities and its capability to act, disrupted unity, and was reflected in a very negative manner in the by now severely disrupted intranational relations, as well as in the general political and security situation in the province.

2. The cadre changes in the Kosovo Provincial LC Committee Presidium, which were meeting disapproval and resistance in the political situation that had been created, were the direct cause of the mass meetings and demonstrations.

One of the major causes is related to the project to amend the Constitution of the SR of Serbia. The lack of information, gossip, and disinformation concerning this project, and consequently the opposition to it, are a part of these causes. In the public discussion concerning the project to amend the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, there was a marked failure to resolutely oppose tendentious interpretations, according to which the changes would mean a loss of autonomy and that citizens of Albanian nationality would lose equal rights in the use of the Albanian language and in education, not to mention the failure to resolutely oppose individual nationalist demands for the abolition of the provinces. To a considerable extent, this created room for the Albanian nationalists and separatists to maneuver, encouraging them to use the meetings of citizens for their own ends.

Although the general commitment of the public information media to stabilize the situation is not in doubt, the creation of an unfavorable political climate and tension was also contributed to by various and unilateral interpretations of given events, which stimulated both the anti-Serb and anti-Albanian disposition, thus creating opportunities to manipulate and divide. The public information media in Kosovo have not contributed to the necessary degree in forming public opinion, have reflected different approaches to the question of the responsibility of, and to the changes of, cadres. The Albanian language information media have, in some of their articles, reflected resistance to essential changes and have created the general impression that there are no real arguments in seeking out those responsible; while the public information media in the Serbo-Croatian language committed themselves to a more rapid change of cadres and placed the responsibility for the permanent worsening of the situation in Kosovo on individuals in the most responsible positions.

The unfavorable climate was also contributed to by some inadmissible demands and slogans at various meetings, mainly in connection with some cadres belonging to the Albanian nationality, as well as the Albanian nationality as a whole.

All this, in addition to the stands of certain members of the sociopolitical organs and organizations in Kosovo, in connection with the implementation of the conclusions of the ninth, 16th, and 17th LCY Central Committee meetings, has been manipulated and has incited citizens of the Albanian nationality to attend mass protest meetings and demonstrations.

3. The provincial committee stresses that all knowledge and all available facts point out that these mass meetings and demonstrations were a result of organized activity. This is proved clearly by the synchronization of meetings, the continuous arrival of people in Pristina from various places in the province, the identical selection and use of flags and slogans, the presence of group leaders, and the synchronized stoppages in some schools and associated labor organizations. The meetings were also characterized by spontaneity, as well as a reflection of dissatisfaction with the general state of affairs in the country as a whole and in Kosovo.

All facts available to the competent organs indicate that individuals from definite political, economic, and other structures were the instigators and organizers of the mass protest meetings.

The instigators and organizers of these meetings intended to present these events primarily as a reflection of the dissatisfaction of the workers and to articulate these protests as in the class interest. However, with the changing structure of participants as the meetings proceeded, particularly in the latter days, the slogans and demands also changed their nature, reflecting increasingly more openly on the public scene the counterrevolutionary aims of the Albanian nationalists and separatists who, through their inadmissible and hostile slogans, were trying to set the tone of the protest meetings. Through their slogans, demands, and behavior, which they attempted to impose at the meetings and demonstrations, the nationalists were giving the events in some places an anti-Serb and anti-Yugoslav coloring. This was reflected particularly in the fact that Serbia was ignored, supposedly putting their reliance solely on Yugoslavia, which is in fact a sort of commitment to "Kosovo-Republic," that is, a commitment to a mistaken policy which fails to see Kosovo in Serbia, but is in line with separatist trends.

Throughout the entire duration of these events, and almost throughout the province, the predominating slogan was: "Let us not change the 1974 Constitution"; there were also other slogans contrary to the Stands of the LCY Central Committee. All this shows that the fundamental aims and motives of the organizers and instigators of the meetings represent resistance against

the constitutional changes of the SR of Serbia, the hindering of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee concerning the responsibility of the Kosovo LC leadership, and the blocking of the action of the LC to implement the policy concerning Kosovo, while the resignation of some members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee was only an excuse.

4. The Provincial Committee assesses that the majority of citizens, particularly the workers, went with the organizers of the meetings proceeding from the best of motives. This is because, due to the weaknesses and shortcomings in the political work of the LC leadership and other socio-political organizations, they had gained the impression that the responsibility of the Kosovo LC leadership followed unjustified pressure against cadres. In this, they were not properly and persuasively informed about the constantly worsening situation in the province, nor about the fact that anyone's failure to implement the policy of the LCY involves accountability on the part of those responsible. The citizens concerned also started on their protest marches due to insufficient and mistaken information and disinformation: that the proposed changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia involve the suspension of autonomy and a denial of the rights of the Albanian nationality concerning language, education, and so forth.

The majority of citizens, and particularly workers, who attended these protest meetings and demonstrations, cannot be labeled as nationalists and cannot be accused of being against constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia and against the LCY policy. The majority of citizens, workers, young people, and other participants proved this through their markedly socialist pronouncements in favor of the policy of brotherhood and unity. However, events show that there was insufficient activity on the part of subjective forces in explaining certain topical political questions, and primarily the essence of constitutional changes, that insufficient work was carried out among citizens and workers, particularly those of Albanian nationality, that the fundamental values of our society were not sufficiently affirmed, and that the importance of constitutional amendments for a better future for all the people in Kosovo was not sufficiently stressed. The insufficient activity of the LC and other sociopolitical organizations was used by those who acted from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, as well as other bureaucratic and nationalist forces, to persuade people that the constitutional changes would involve the suspension of the province, that the Albanian flag, culture, language, and so forth, would be affected. This contributed to creating an atmosphere of rebellion, in which the instigators and organizers did not find it difficult to gather citizens into mass meetings and induce them to demonstrate and protest in Pristina. A serious political mistake lies in the fact that some representatives of the political organs of the Kosovo LC and other organizations failed to adequately, and in a principled manner, explain to the demonstrators the essence of the proposed constitutional changes and of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee meeting on the question of the responsibility of certain organs and officials of the Kosovo LC, as well as the decisions of the provincial committee concerning this matter. Some individuals avoided openly opposing demands which hinder the implementation of these tasks.

The mass character, euphoria, and prolonged duration of the protest meetings and demonstrations created a real danger that they could turn into excessive behavior, with dire consequences. Public order was seriously endangered. The route followed by the participants in some protest meetings and demonstrations, which went into some areas heavily populated by Serbs and Montenegrins, could have led to a settling of accounts, with unprecedently severe consequences as regards intranational relations, public order, and security, while the Serbs and Montenegrins viewed this as a direct pressure on them to emigrate from Kosovo.

The Provincial Committee assesses that, precisely for this reason, the measures adopted by the competent state organs to prevent larger meetings and movements of people in public places in Pristina and other cities, as well as the organized travel of people to Pristina from other places, were essential and reasonable.

5. The more profound causes for the November meetings and demonstrations lie in the difficult overall situation in Kosovo, resulting from long-term negative trends.

The causes for the complicated situation in Kosovo were noted in the LCY Central Committee Political platform on Kosovo, and further elaborated in the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee meeting, in its decision to finally smash the counterrevolutionary forces of Albanian nationalism and separatism, as the main cause of the intranational divisions and suspicions, the worsening of the political and security situation, and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under pressure.

However, since these tasks were not carried out, the political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is still characterized by the continued presence and activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists through their underground activity and concrete forms of pressure, which caused the severe disruption of intranational relations and trust and the continued emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under pressure. Through their continuous hostile activity over a long period of time, the Albanian nationalists and separatists, together with other etatistic-bureaucratic forces, were able to partially achieve their aim of negatively influencing a part of the Albanian population, particularly young people, which created suitable conditions for their mass protest meetings and open demonstrations. These forces considered that the exacerbated relations in society suited their purpose and that the time had come to exert greater influence among broad sections of the Albanian nationality, and thus to come out openly on the public and social scene.

Even before that, through their slogans and the distribution of leaflets, the Albanian nationalists and separatists were calling for, among other things, demonstrations, work stoppages, and other forms of protest. In addition, through their oral propaganda, they were trying to win influence through the indoctrination of citizens and young people of Albanian nationality. They stressed the need for mass meetings like those held by the Serbs and Montenegrins. They were stressing that the Albanian nationality in Kosovo would find itself in a very difficult position as a result of the proposed constitutional amendments, that these amendments were directed specifically against the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia and against the autonomy of Kosovo. They were also stressing that the Albanians in Yugoslavia did not enjoy equal rights with the other nations and nationalities, that the measures undertaken by society to stabilize the situation are intended for "the abolition of national rights that have been won through so much struggle," that this "would be a return to the pre-Brioni period," that the Albanians "have been experiencing the injustice and oppression of the Great-Serbs for centuries on end," and so forth. They were, in this way, trying to influence citizens of Albanian nationality and thus induce them to oppose the LCY and the proposed constitutional changes, insisting that the question of Kosovo is a question affecting only Albanians, that Kosovo must be ethnically pure, separated from Serbia, and that it must win Republic status. Through their activity they were striving to hinder the activity of various subjective forces for the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, and they were successful to a certain degree.

The tasks set out in party documents in Kosovo are not being fulfilled in a worthy and sufficient manner. Adequate measures have not been adopted to speed up the the final solution of the severe problems confronting the province. The ideopolitical struggle and intensive political activity to smash the counterrevolution of the Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo has not been waged resolutely enough. The ideopolitical activity carried out failed to create and consolidate that common and single front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats, Turks, and Muslims, which is an absolute prerequisite for resolving the major problems in Kosovo.

Due to a lack of results and the failure to eliminate the causes of the counterrevolution, the Kosovo leadership itself has acted in a defensive way. Official assessments of the situation in Kosovo limited themselves to the observation that "increased efforts were necessary," and that "results were insufficient." There was also a considerable amount of opportunism and vaccillations in the leadership, the process of differentiation was slow in its application, and this created the belief that there was pressure from the Serbian LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee. During this period, bureaucratic relationships were also consolidated in the Kosovo LC and in the sociopolitical structure of the province. This, together with bureaucracy, nationalism, and alienation, helped to preserve the existing state of affairs, while the political and security situation was continually worsening.

Contrary to the measures adopted and the results attained in resolving open questions in the Republic, particularly with regard to education, the creation of joint assets, and the cooperation and links between various sociopolitical communities, in Kosovo itself, the increasingly more severe consequences of the economic, cultural, and other aspects of isolation from the Republic and other parts of the country became increasingly more apparent, not to mention the consequences of severe indoctrination and Albanian nationalism.

Numerous facts indicate that the process of indoctrination is continuing, particularly among a section of the youth, because the causes stimulating that indoctrination have not been eliminated. The process of differentiation in various fields of social life, particularly in education, science, culture, and information, has not been concluded in a worthy manner. The national element dominates in life and frequently borders on the nationalist, while the class element has been given second place.

Another major problem lies in the fact that the resocialization of young people is not showing good results.

The activity of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalists also helped to cool intranational relations. Disseminating the thesis that life with Albanians is impossible and accusing the entire Albanian population for the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, due to the general situation in Kosovo, the Serb and Montenegrin nationalists aroused the dissatisfaction of the citizens of Albanian nationality, thus deepening intranational mistrust and hatred.

The worsening political and security situation was also contributed to by the worsening of the political and security situation in the country as a whole. The growing nationalism and disunity in the LCY and the acceleration of disintegrating trends in society not only made the process of stabilization more difficult, it also contributed to the exacerbation of trends in Kosovo.

The extremely acute economic and social problems confronting the working people and citizens in the province, particularly the high level of unemployment, also have a very unfavorable influence on the stabilization of the political and security situation.

Political action and political work with the masses in Kosovo were lacking. The action and political work carried out, mainly in forums, centered on events concerning the members of Serb and Montenegrin nationality in Kosovo, that is, precisely in those environments where the public dissatisfaction with its own position and the general situation in Kosovo was more acute. Trends affecting members of the Albanian nationality

were neglected, insufficient attention was paid to the growing influence of Albanian nationalism and to the growing awareness of the members of this nationality concerning the so-called danger represented by proposed changes in the SR of Serbia and the SFRY. All this created a considerable opening to the Albanian nationalists and separatists, which in the end encouraged them to use the meetings of workers and citizens for their own purpose, to emerge on the political scene, and to demonstrate.

The creation of an unfavorable political climate and the tension observed in intranational relations, even after the 17th LCY Central Committee meeting, was also contributed to by some public information media which, through varied and unilateral interpretation of given events, incited both anti-Serb and anti-Albanian sentiments, and thus opened up the way to all kinds of hostile and antisocialist manipulation, pressure, and provocations. The situation in Kosovo is also burdened by the publication of various articles, sometimes forced and frequently one-sided, as well as by some contradictory statements made by people in responsible positions. All these factors stimulate given psychological and political movements, and create various tensions and unacceptable predispositions.

6. The Kosovo LC Central Committee estimates that the mass protest meetings and demonstrations by members of the Albanian nationality have also resulted in unforeseen consequences, primarily due to the fact that the already complicated political and security situation in Kosovo was further exacerbated. Intranational relations in the province suffered particularly negative consequences. National divisions and mutual mistrust increased to the danger point. The feeling of insecurity and of danger among the Serb and Montenegrin population, and among members of other populations, including a considerable part of the Albanian population, further increased. To this must be added the danger of severe intranational conflicts and the further acceleration of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. All this represents a form of pressure for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, assists the Albanian nationalists and separatists in their inclination toward an "ethnically pure Kosovo" and their ultimate aim of a "Republic of Kosovo," which is counterrevolutionary and against the constitutional provisions of the SR of Serbia and the SFRY. These events also objectively endangered the real interests of the Albanian nationality itself, as well as the common life and work of all nations and nationalities in the province.

The meetings and demonstrations of the Albanian nationality contributed to making the situation in Kosovo even more complicated. Moreover, judicial norms were exceeded on that occasion. Public law and order were endangered, and there was a real danger of excessive behavior taking over, thus endangering the country's constitutional order. These events made it possible for the number of persons operating publicly from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism to grow, and for their hostile stand to become more open.

Following these events, divisions along national lines reached the last border also in the LC, the leadership, and among the working people and citizens. This is a severe political problem hindering efficient action to stabilize the situation. These divisions are showing a tendency to grow, and this tendency is reflected in a particularly drastic way in the assessment of the meetings and demonstrations by citizens, their causes, in connection with the presentation of candidates for membership in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and its Presidium, and also in connection with the definition of the directions of the action to be undertaken. A mass phenomenon of returning party membership cards is also prevalent in Kosovo, as well as demands for the suspension of the probation period of party candidates, until the assessments, causes, and directions of actions are interpreted in one single manner. This makes the work of the LC more difficult and these problems must be resolved resolutely, particularly the question of divisions along national lines. Otherwise, the activity of the LC in Kosovo, as a single organization, will be placed in doubt.

Proceeding from the critical assessments of the implementation of the direct tasks arising from the 17th LCY Central Committee meeting, especially the ninth of these tasks, as well as of the related action, approved at the 20th Kosovo LC Provincial Committee meeting, and proceeding from these "Assessments and Stands" on the mass protest meetings by citizens of Albanian nationality, the Provincial Committee obligates the members, organs, and organizations of the Kosovo LC, to commit themselves to the following tasks:

a) The Provincial Committee obligates the members of the LC, its organs, and the communists operating in other socio-political organizations, to initiate broad political actions among the workers class and all working people in Kosovo, primarily among those of Albanian nationality, to create a single socialist front comprising Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, and members of all other peoples and nationalities in Kosovo. In the struggle for a free, common, and peaceful life of all people in Kosovo, in the struggle for putting an end to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and to definitively defeat the counterrevolution of the Albanian nationalists and separatists, the Kosovo LC must rely on the broad support of the workers class and progressive force in Kosovo.

National exclusiveness and the separation of nations and nationalities can be overcome only through the further consolidation of brotherhood and unity, through coexistence, and through the elimination of all those manifestations in daily life, which lead to the deepening of the gap in intranational relations.

b) It is essential to intensify the ideopolitical activity to explain the substance of the draft amendments in the constitutions of the SR of Serbia and of the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo. This activity must open the way to the approval of the proposed constitutional changes within the stipulated period. These amendments will ensure that the SR of Serbia, as a state and self-managed community, will be able to carry out its essential functions throughout its territory, as well as to secure in a worthy manner the autonomy of the provinces, which are included in the SR of Serbia and are a constitutive factor of the Federation.

c) The Kosovo LC organs and organizations are obligated to carry out the Conclusions of the 20th LCY Central Committee meeting concerning the identification of the instigators and organizers of the November meetings and demonstrations.

The competent organs are obligated to determine the dimension of Albanian nationalism and separatism in the November demonstrations and meetings, its participation and concrete activity from those positions, and the persons instrumental in such activity, and to adopt the necessary decisions in conformity with the legal dispositions.

The Communists in the associated labor organizations, local communities, communal organizations, and other organs are obligated to assess the situation in their own environment as quickly as possible, as well as with regard to LC members and other persons who are proven to have been instigators and organizers of the November meetings and demonstrations and to adopt all necessary ideopolitical and other measures, including expulsion from the LC.

To achieve the political unity and the unity of action of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, as well as among all members of the LC, the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is obligated to mobilize the members of the LC to ensure the worthy implementation of the LCY policy. To achieve this, it is necessary to undertake ideopolitical measures against all persons opposing the conclusions of party forums. This applies especially to those members of the LC, in the provincial committee and its Presidium, but also at other levels, who helped create an atmosphere of confusion and divisions, and who instigated the workers and citizens of Albanian nationality to participate in the mass meetings.

d) The members and the forums are obligated to implement the conclusions of the 9th, 16th, and 17th meetings of the LCY Central Committee in full and everywhere. The individual responsibility of Communists, Kosovo SAWP officials, members of the Trade Union Council, of the Assembly, Executive Council, and other provincial and administrative organs, must be determined. All those who are responsible for the worsening situation in the province must depart. Differentiation at the base is impossible, unless it is carried out in full at all levels of the leadership.

e) Ideopolitical activity among the young generation must be carried out resolutely, seeking to eliminate the consequences of their indoctrination from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism. The substance, form, and method of ideopolitical work, especially in the secondary and higher schools, must aim at the efficient elimination of the consequences of the indoctrination of part of the youth from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, as well as their education in the spirit of Yugoslav socialist patriotism.

f) The Communists in state institutions and in the organs of the system are obligated to undertake all ideopolitical and other measures stipulated by the Constitution and the laws to secure the person and property of all citizens in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, particularly in defense of citizens of the Serb and Montenegrin nationality against pressure from Albanian nationalists and separatists.

The Provincial Committee obligates the LC members, organizations, and organs to act in conformity with these Assessments and Stands on the protest meetings and demonstrations throughout their political activity.

Pristina, February 1989

Reserve Officers Urged To Act

LD2402175389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Yugoslav Federation of Reserve Officers demands that all reserve officers of Kosovo return immediately to work and involve themselves in the implementation of all measures of social self-protection, in order to influence the behavior of other working people and citizens in the province by their example.

The session concluded that the Kosovo reserve officers are obliged to return to work by the stands of the SFRY Presidency as the supreme command, the stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and the conclusions of the expanded session of the Kosovo Federation of Reserve Officers Provincial Conference. This matter was the topic of discussion at today's session of the Yugoslav Federation of Reserve Officers.

Morina, Suvar, Milosevic Speak

LD2402122189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1141 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—A meeting has begun in the Yugoslav People's Army Club in Pristina of the highest-ranking party personalities of the LC of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Kosovo with the politica aktiv of the province.

Participating in this smeeting are Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium; Rahman Morina, president of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee; and also Radisa Gacic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Ugljesa Uzelac, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; and Jurij Bajec, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

Several hundred citizens of Pristina have gathered around the Yugoslav People's Army Club and when Suvar and Milosevic appeared sometime after 1100 a group began to chant "Slobo-Slobo" and another group replied with "Suvar-Suvar".

The meeting of party officials, whose arrival the Trecpa miners have been demanding for days, with the Kosovo political aktiv, was opened by Rahman Morina who greeted the leading party personalities from Yugoslavia and Serbia. Right at the beginning of his speech he drew attention to the dangerous deterioration in the security and political situation in the province.

As far as the Constitution is concerned, Morina believes that through patient work a solution has been found that ensures that the Socialist Republic of Serbia can discharge the necessary state functions throughout its territory. The consistent implementation of the autonomous status of the autonomous provinces which make up the Socialist Republic of Serbia and which are also a constituent factor of the federation is ensured as well.

I would like to say this: We do not want to proceed at a snail's pace, temporize, or sit on the fence. We shall not indulge in a trial of strength and take our stance toward the manifestations and events accordingly. We shall not flirt with those who are silent and are waiting for an outcome and then curry favor with the victor, nor can we win the battle with those who are waiting to kowtow to the victor. Tito's path will win here, the people who want equality and a peaceful and happy future for themselves and their children will win. Which individual heads the party is irrelevant. What policy he advocates is the essential thing.

It is not good that we all have allowed the people to speak over a long period of time who call traitors of the Albanian nation those persons who put the general interests of all the people before their national interests. Their work and struggle for full equality for Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims, Croats, and Romanians is not a betrayal of Albanian nationality. The same attitude toward them is also taken by Albanian nationalists who in their pamphlets call them "Serb henchmen," who call upon Albanians to stage armed conflict, and who make demands that are virtually identical with the demands that have been heard recently. The invitation to bloodshed is a most sinister objective of the nationalists which would bring misfortune both to the Albanian people and all other nations and nationalities.

Bearing in mind that the situation is very serious we must immediately intensify activity in order to consistently implementing the agreed policy on Kosovo and work much more on our political and action unity. The situation in which we find ourselves calls for the involvement of all appropriate state organs to prevent the harmful consequences that occurred in production and in other activities.

The only way to stabilize the political situation in Kosovo is to carry out the stands and tasks on Kosovo laid down by the LCY Central Committee and do that without hesitation and regardless of the resistance that exists. We shall undertake all political and other measures to normalize life.

We shall win the battle for a peaceful life if we halt the counterrevolutionary activity and foil the activity of Albanian nationalists, if we allow all the people to lead a secure life, if the process of emigration is transformed into a process of returning to Kosovo, if we mobilize the people to give life to reforms so that changes can be made in all areas of our social life, if we establish a joint front of struggle of all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo, if we win the people over through the differentation process, if we stop manifestations of Serb nationalism, and if we resist manifestations of anti-Serb and anti-Albanian sentiments.

Experience tells us that there are no real results without a broad mobilization of all the people on joint interests. We in Kosovo cannot do anything without the others, and the interests of the Serbs and Montenegrins cannot be different from the interests of the Albanians, just as the interests of the Albanians cannot be different from the interests of the Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Romanians, and Croats. Any further disunity would cost us dearly. The Albanians themselves see their prosperity in brotherhood and unity, in a united and strong Yugoslavia, and not in a province whose statute will be different from that of Vojvodina as proposed by a group of Albanian intellectuals in their appeal.

The Kosovo LC must insist on the implementation of the totality of the tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. There can be no compromises here. No one who is progressive and is of Yugoslav orientation should feel threatened because of this.

The continuation of such a situation in Kosovo can only lead to the constitutional order being threatened and this is why it cannot be tolerated. Both the leaders and the Communists in all basic organizations will have to make it clear whether they support the LCY line and policy and will carry it out consistently or whether they will allow events to become uncontrollable. In any case, there

can be no compromise here, said Rahman Morina in conclusion. For several years now Kosovo has been Yugoslavia's biggest problem, stressed Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, who took the floor after Rahman Morina. These years coincided with the crisis of our society as a whole and it is therefore difficult, and in these circumstances unnecessary, to conduct research on whether the crisis in Kosovo was transferred to Yugoslavia or the other way around. This is no longer important because one crisis encouraged the other.

However, what is important, not to say it is the only important thing, assessed Milosevic, is to solve Kosovo's problem as soon as possible in the interest of justice and progress for all the people living in this province. This is the view with which, I believe, everyone in Kosovo agrees. At the same time, a question necessarily arises. What is the barrier against establishing justice and progress in Kosovo?

Without denying that Kosovo's high level of underdevelopment has its share in it, Milosevic indicated the years of Albanian nationalist activity which has led to physical, political, and cultural violence against Serbs and Montenegrins in the province and which is unprecedented in Europe, is the biggest barrier.

People outside Yugoslavia with whom we have contacts from various, especially European countries, he added, often do not believe that such violence by members of one nation against another could exist in Europe today. More precisely, they think that we are inventing it and, to say the least, exaggerating.

The consequence of this violence was initially an increasingly difficult life for Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and their emigration in increasingly large numbers. As you know, said Milosevic, there are barely 200,000 Serbs and Montenegrins left in Kosovo.

Apart from this, he stressed, this nationalist activity was not without negative consequences for the life of the Albanian population either. First of all, frequently and not without justification, the dissatisfaction and anger of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo as well as of other people in Serbia and Yugoslavia, is transferred, because of Albanian chauvinists, to all Albanians who are not responsible for the behavior and crimes of the chauvinists among their own people. Furthermore, because of the atmosphere of intolerance and skepticism, permanent tension which burdens every nation, family, and man dominates Kosovo as a whole, among all citizens.

In such an atmosphere there is no place for normal life, not to mention work, economic development, cultural creativity, or the prosperity of society and individuals.

For this reason, Milosevic thinks Kosovo today is the least developed part of Yugoslavia—despite a lot of young and educated people—where not even investment on the part of Serbia and Yugoslavia in the province can yield any desired results.

Internal intranational quarrels and intolerance have blocked development, ideas, people, and their lives.

It is an urgent and common interest of all Kosovo citizens to halt the Albanian chauvinist activity, he says; the struggle against every form of nationalism, first of all within his own nation, is the most pressing task of every Communist.

Taking into consideration the topical situation in Kosovo is primarily in the interest of Serbs and Montenegrins because chauvinism is directly targeted against them, but it is also in the interest of Albanians and ultimately in the interest of all others who have been indirectly affected and brought into the atmosphere of blockades, nightmares, and agony.

It is in the interest of all Kosovo citizens, regardless of nationality, age, education, profession, or religious affiliation, to unite and join efforts to get rid of the evil, so that Serbs and Montenegrins can be protected and all those who so wish can return to their homes, that shame and burden which does not belong to them can be lifted from Albanians, and Yugoslavia can have its hands free for the major social reform awaiting.

I know, said Milosevic, that responsibility for the situation in Kosovo is not borne by Albanians alone. On the contrary, responsibility is also borne by all in Yugoslavia who by their activity or lack thereof contributed to the appearance of chauvinist and separatist ideas and behavior, most of all the Serbs in the leadership of Serbia and Yugoslavia who have turned a blind eye before the phenomena in Kosovo, partly because of their personal laziness and partly because of their fear of calling into question their own political position and their material and other interests.

For this reason the basis for the so-called diferentation, said Milosevic, is the policy of national equality, the policy against the discrimination and humiliation of nations and people. Kosovo will not escape such differentiation either.

In Kosovo too, he said, people who have been fomenting divisions, hatred, and intolerance among nations should give up politics and leave responsible offices in society. This, of course, is not some kind of witch-hunt, but it is perfectly logical and just that responsible positions, not just in politics, but also in the economy, education, culture, and information, be filled by people who respect and value dignity and work, culture, and the nation belonging to every man. This cadre policy can bring together all those who live in Kosovo because it is in their common interest.

As far as constitutional changes are concerned, which is currently the main political issue in the province, things are quite simple, noted Milosevic. Serbia had been the only republic in Yugoslavia which in fact was not—it was not a republic. The provinces, by the status accorded them in the 1974 Constitution and practice resulting from this constitution, were outside Serbia. The so-called Serbia proper was nothing in an administrative, legal, or political sense—it was neither a province nor a republic. The aim of the constitutional changes is to remove this injustice about Serbia in relation to the other republics so that it can become a republic and a united community of all nations and nationalities living there in the territorial, administrative, legal, political, and social sense. In so doing the provinces will not lose their autonomy.

The fear in Kosovo of constitutional changes is based on misinformation or half-truths and in any case on ignorance. Everyone knows, which is natural, that what would most affect the Albanians in Kosovo would be to lose any of their vital rights which put them on an equal footing with the other nations in Yugoslavia.

If the Albanians were really threatened by the danger of losing these rights or part of them by the constitutional changes, they would have reason for dissatisfaction and protests and their protests would be justified. However, said Milosevic, I must extend a message from here to all Albanians in Kosovo and say that their fear in this respect is completely unfounded. The Albanians will really lose none of their rights—neither the right to their own language, nor the right to their own schools or to their own cultural, economic, political or any other form of development. Their work and creativity and their entire life will in no way be jeopardized by the constitutional changes just because they are Albanian.

Besides, the Constitution was adopted yesterday and one can no longer come up with any more inventions. Everyone can read what is written in it and can convince himself that this is the truth. You will have to see among yourselves who is responsible for all this misinformation, untruths, dissemination of fear, and dissemination of hatred against Serbia among the Albanians and for the protests based on these untruths.

Anyone who in any way jeopardizes the interest of the Albanians here, in Serbia, or in Yugoslavia would come into conflict with the Serb leadership, no matter whether they are Serbs or Montenegrins or anyone else. However, you must know that the same also applies to the Albanians. They cannot enjoy the support of the Serbian LC and of Serbia, or any honest citizen of Yugoslavia, of Europe, or of the whole world if they close their eyes to the historic wretched situation in which the Serbs and the Montenegrins here among you have found themselves.

The constitutional changes will ensure that all the citizens in Serbia, and therefore here in Kosovo too, will be equal before the law, will have the same chances for employment, creativity, and political participation. They can be free only if they are equal. I am convinced, and I would like to reiterate this, that this is in the joint interest of all Kosovo inhabitants, regardless of their nationality and their religious or any other membership.

This whole burden of Kosovo tribulations, stressed Milosevic, can be resolved by the Communists in Kosovo and the nationalities in Kosovo only if they act together and if they begin trusting each other.

As long as desperate Serbs and Montenegrins are forced to leave their land—and there are fewer and fewer of these with every passing day—hold rallies in Kosovo Polje and as long as Albanians, alarmed about the possibility of there being a threat to their schools, language, and culture, or any other threat, meet in Stari Trg, there will be no happiness in Kosovo, said Milosevic. He stressed that the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others in Kosovo should not only be together here, in the provincial committee, in the assembly, or in the executive council, but also in factories and schools, in parks. He stressed that they should share their concerns and joys.

While at the moment this looks difficult, virtually unimaginable, it is possible, said Milosevic. This is the task of the Communists and of all other progressive people, intellectuals, students, and young people. The Albanians should lead the way in this effort to bring about rapprochement, Milosevic believes. There are more of them, they are stronger economically and socially, they should take on the responsibility for a dignified life of the Serbs and Montenegrins and for the security of their children.

All members of the Kosovo political aktiv have their immediate tasks in this, and they must go into every local community, factory, school, and house to explain together the LC policy, so that more things should become clearer, so that those who are against this policy are not uninformed or do not labor under misapprehension and understand that they are for a different policy, for a different Yugoslavia in which people are not equal, free, and protected against humiliation and terror. Only when we have resolved this problem will everyone living in Kosovo be able to address himself to the big problems awaiting them together.

In this, Kosovo will have the support of the republic and of the federation. But this help can produce results only when intolerance and expulsions in the province have ceased. Kosovo is too poor to be able to afford hatred and division.

I believe that the time of understanding and comradely cooperation is in front of us. The Serbs, Montenegrins, and Albanians in Yugoslavia live together, they lived

together before us, and will also live together after us. This is why the present generation of Serbs, Montenegrins, and Albanians have historic responsibility not only for the fates of their own children but for the fates of future generations, said Slobodan Milosevic in conclusion.

A much bigger political aktiv of the LC and of all socialist organized forces in Kosovo is required to make sure a deeper and more far-reaching development in our practical policy begins to occur at this point of time and this policy starts producing results, said Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium at the beginning of his address.

This aktiv, he added, should be made up of all 100,000 Kosovo Communists and of all the people of a socialist frame of mind who are not LC members and who are fair-minded, honest, and dignified people, regardless of their nationality and even their intimate ideopolitical, religious, or atheist commitments. Half excusing himself, not as an individual, but because of this situation in Kosovo, Rahman Morina said that this was not a new policy and that the same policy is involved. I venture to say that we do not require a new policy and that in practical action in the struggle for the people we have no other policy except the basic ideopolitical commitments of the LCY, of the LC of Serbia, and of the LC of Kosovo. In this sense old policy means consistency on what we have agreed on at the most important party meetings at all levels. Recalling the many documents adopted by the LCY to stabilize the situation in Kosovo, Suvar said that they are of long-term significance and that this fact should be proved in action.

Our biggest problem in these years since the 1981 outbreak of Albanian nationalism and its counterrevolutionary demands has been that we have not carried out an in-depth change, primarily in our practical action, have not changed the situation for the better, have not stabilized the political situation in Kosovo or the quality of intranational relations as is required for living together in the province, so that Albanians who constitute an overwhelming majority of the population of Kosovo can live together, and that the Serbs and the Montenegrins who feel threatened more than anybody else and are under the biggest threat can live—the same applies to anybody else here in Kosovo.

The political, moral, and working crisis has reached a critical point from which the condition can get much worse and unimaginably bad, for this reason we must halt this at any cost, warned Suvar. Now Albanian workers, students, and pupils are holding meetings and are striking, and virtually all work and production in the province have stopped.

This province, Suvar went on to say, obtains considerable resources every day from the Socialist Republic of Serbia and from the whole of Yugoslavia for its development and to keep it running. The province is important for the overall economy of the country. The fact that the province has over eight percent of the Yugoslav population and that its share in the social product of the country is under two percent speaks eloquently of the disparity. If the work done here is poor and if the work is getting worse and worse, and the people are dissatisfied for entirely different reasons, then the issue becomes insoluble unless politically and in a fair way we fail to overcome the current situation in Kosovo and start improving the situation at a rapid pace. However, the most tragic thing, talking about the LC, is the deep-seated national division between party members themselves and in their conduct and reaction, ranging from the basic organizations to the provincial committee. A Communist who is an Albanian or a Communist who is a Serb do not have to think uniformly, but they do have to have the same stance on the key and basic issues of life and development in this province. If they work and behave differently then that is the main paralyzing brake on the strength and influence of the LC.

This is what concerns us most and what has been manifestly demonstrated in recent months and particularly during the past few days. You should concern yourselves about this, Suvar told the members of the Kosovo political aktiv. To overcome this in the LC represents a basis for its political action and also for the political action of all organized socialist forces. The same applies also to the leaderships and to the leaders, ranging from any LC basic organization to the provincial committee and its presidium.

If the political and moral authority of a person, as a leadership member, is not accepted and not acknowledged by the Communists of all nations and nationalities in the province, and also in every environment in Yugoslavia, then it cannot be asserted, affirmed, and maintained. Considered from that point of view only those people who with their conduct gain the confidence of the people, regardless of their national membership, as leaders not only in the party but anywhere else, can change the situation. Heightened responsibility and differentiation are necessary and this is why we demanded them at the 17th LCY Central Committee session. On that occasion the Central Committee, Suvar recalled, as the only measure allowed by the statute in so far as another leadership within the LCY is involved, addressed a warning to the provincial committee criticizing at the same time its own presidium. We stressed that the biggest responsibility devolved on the provincial committee and on the Kosovo party, then on the Central Committee and the LC of Serbia, and then on the entire LCY and the LCY Central Committee. During our sessions in Belgrade we can discuss the situation in Kosovo as long as you like, but we cannot change it. We in Yugoslavia can do this or that to make the situation better but only you can change it here on the spot. And responsibility, next to yours, is that of the LC of Serbia and of the LCY.

We in the LCY Central Committee Presidium have never wanted to adopt a stand on who has to be replaced and who has to be brought in: We said that everybody's

responsibility is established by the leadership to which a member belongs. However, anyone who does not pass muster must go in accordance with the regular norms of LC internal life, in a way established by statute and according to the rules of democracy.

I will reiterate to the miners in Stari Trg something about which I have been criticized—party leaders cannot be replaced by meetings and strikes. Everyone has the right to criticize, even the broadest strata of the people, whether or not they labor under misapprehension. The same applies to all citizens, and the party is dutybound to take this into account, to listen to it, and to act in its regular way. When the upheaval started in Kosovo in 1981, the upheaval led by forces of Albanian nationalism, we had no doubts that these were counterrevolutionary events. This was not a controversial issue for anyone in the LCY, and we are sticking to these assessments. The way we act is a different issue, however, we can say now that we wasted many years because we lacked proper action and a proper diagnosis of it all.

Here, stressed Suvar, the neglect as regards work with people's masses was enormous, bigger than anywhere else in Yugoslavia, and everywhere in the country the LC went bureaucratic, it ran off into its offices, institutions, papers, and forums. There is also a high level of insularity in the province toward Serbia and Yugoslavia and a high level of internal bureaucratic lack of democracy. We have this throughout the country, somewhere more and somewhere less, and this brought about the situation where up until 1981 "the rest of" Yugoslavia and "the rest of" Serbia didn't even know what was happening here although this was a tectonic upheaval that had been growing for decades.

The period up to the Brioni plenum was very difficult for Albanians. The LC has given its assessments on that, it has not withdrawn them since, and it need not and cannot do so. However, in 1968 we had the first demonstrations and street gatherings from positions of Albanian nationalism. To begin with there was no proper response to the events. Thirteen years afterward, 1 year after Tito's death, this erupted. This means that the forces of Albanian nationalism, which have their agenda, are present here. What we are talking about is how we shall vigorously suppress them, deny them scope, how to drive them into the mouse hole and not allow them to renew themselves in the new generations—and this seems to be happening today with increased vigor.

The forces of Serb nationalism, both in Kosovo and Serbia and Yugoslavia, with the Kosovo trauma and Kosovo problems have also been creating incidents in recent times to which we have not always reacted in a timely and adequate manner. The discussions as to which nationalism is more dangerous are ridiculous. Here in Kosovo Albanian nationalism is a hundred times more dangerous. As far as the destiny of Yugoslavia is concerned Albanian nationalism is dangerous in the sense that it wants to wreck Yugoslavia and that it was a part of its territory. As long as Yugoslavia exists this will never happen.

Despite what we have not done since the Ninth LC Central Committee session we have made, I venture to think aloud here, some progress. First, it has been grasped finally throughout Yugoslavia, from Mount Triglav to Gevgelija, that Kosovo is the problem of all problems through the whole country and that, accordingly, no one can remain indifferent, regardless of where in this country one lives, what standard of living one has, and what kind of culture one espouses. Yugoslavia must not allow itself to become a Kosovo because of Kosovo. Yugoslavia today lives in fear because of Kosovo.

It is not only the Serbs and the Albanians who are fearful no matter how one is informed, by whom one is organized, and to what extent one is manipulated. All this happens. It is not only the Serbs in Serbia and the Serb nation as a whole who are afraid, it is not only the Macedonian and Montenegrin peoples who are afraid because Albanians live there as well. We are all afraid. I am not saying that we are all afraid to the same extent, but it is one thing to be afraid and another to do something. This awareness, Suvar believes, is the first achievement of what we have been fighting for since the Ninth LCY Central Committee session.

Suvar recalled that sometime ago a working group had been set up to establish the responsibility of Fadilj Hodza, and the provincial committee took similar steps for a number of people who until that time had occupied top posts. [passage indistinct] I am not talking about criminal responsibilities because that has nothing to do with me; I am talking about political responsibilities.

The secret of all secrets in Kosovo, both today and tomorrow, is that the people should not live next to one another but with one another, that the Serbs in this environment should not feel to be a persecuted minority and that the Albanians in Yugoslavia should not feel as a nationality being discriminated against. Everyone in this country is in a position to be either a majority or a minority, but the basic thing is how to behave as a socialist and as a Communist and fight for the same cause. What has been happening in Kosovo since November serves as a warning that we have not yet overcome the tasks and that perhaps we have not even started to overcome them in an in-depth manner.

We must also recognize what concerns an average Albanian in Yugoslavia today. The Albanians in Kosovo must be told: Good, protest because, unless you violate the constitutional system, you are entitled to do that. But you have to also protest when Serbs and Montenegrins are subject to pressure, discrimination, or violence. By the same token the Serbs in Kosovo must be told: Never allow Serb nationalism to break out and don't allow discrimination against Albanians.

What happened yesterday in the Serbian Assembly about the changes to this republic's Constitution is a good thing. It is not clear to me, said Suvar, why Albanians in Kosovo en masse think that something major has changed here. These are five or six issues that Serbia has acquired in a normal way as areas of state jurisdiction.

From where came so many misconceptions among the Albanian masses that Kosovo autonomy will be suspended? I am surprised at these Albanian intellectuals who demand that the substance of autonomy in Vojvodina and Kosovo should be different.

The autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo must be the same and must be preserved. From where then came the call: "We will not give up the 1974 Constitution." We have adopted constitutional amendments to the SFRY Constitution with everybody's agreement. If they did not impinge on the basic principles of the 1974 SFRY Constitution, then they did not impinge on the basic principles of all republican constitutions either.

As long as we have Tito's Yugoslavia, its six republics and two provinces cannot be called into question. However, the point at issue is that we should not be intoxicated by national states and that we should carry out economic integration; thus we shall resolve political and other issues with greater ease, said Stipe Suvar in conclusion.

Morina Rejects Demands

LD2402164389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1503 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, Feb 24 (TANJUG)—The wave of strikes by ethnic Albanian workers and students in Kosovo, which started on Monday, seriously aggravated the political situation in the Yugoslav province, the League of Communists of Kosovo Presidency President Rahman Morina assessed today.

The course of events is threatening law and order and the constitutional order, Morina added speaking at a meeting of a political activist group of Kosovo in which the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee (CC) President Stipe Suvar and League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee President Slobodan Milosevic are taking part.

Rahman Morina was explicit in his condemnation of the strikers' demands. He assessed that it is inadmissable to cede to the conditioning, blackmail and pressures of the strikers because they run counter to LCY policy on Kosovo.

The miners of Trepca's lead mine "Tari Trg", who began the first strike on Monday which then spread to a general political strike of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, will not leave the pits until Provincial Party President Morina resigns. Only then will they agree to talk with the officials.

At the session of the political activist group, Rahman Morina refuted the allegations according to which a new policy has been inaugurated since personnel changes have been made in the provincial leadership. He said that some people view the current policy as incorrect and call for an end to be put to it.

Morina underscored that no new policy is involved but, instead, the implementation of the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In that context, he said the provincial leadership and political bureaucracy were to blame for the fact that unacceptable demands have now been raised by workers, especially the miners.

It is now being demanded through the miners that the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia not be changed, that the Kosovo party leadership be replaced and that an end be put to the allegedly wrong policy towards ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, Morina said.

Morina Briefs Press

AU2502204889 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, spoke today with representatives of Kosovo newspapers on the current political and security situation in Kosovo and the measures which are being taken to normalize the situation, as well as the role of the press in this respect.

Rahman Morina stressed that the situation in the whole of Kosovo is very serious and tense and could escalate into serious interethnic conflicts. There is also the tendency of a threat to public order and peace, as well as to the constitutional order. The Kosovo leadership is taking all measures to get the Stari Trg miners to come out of the mine, because as well as the political security situation worsening, their health is being ruined.

It was emphasized in the talks that interethnic relations are deteriorating, and there have also been announcements that miners of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities from other mines will also go down into the pits and make demands that are opposed to those of the Stari Trg miners.

In the exchange of opinions over the current situation in Kosovo, particular attention was paid to the alleged statement by Rahman Morina in which he called the miners and workers nationalists and irredentists. It was unambiguously stated that he never said this anywhere and that he does not believe this, and that this is a case of manipulation by those forces which do not want the

situation to change and oppose the assessments and stands of the LCY Central Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

Speaking about the later demand of the miners that he resign, Rahman Morina said that he immediately offered his resignation, but this was followed by the united assessment of the highest party leaderships of the province, republic, and federation that this act would lead to an even more serious destabilization throughout all of Yugoslavia.

It was stressed in the talks that forces should be mobilized in the press which will more successfully contribute to stabilizing the situation and halting the uncritical reporting of certain untenable demands which stir up harmful emotions and passions.

Suvar Visits Stari Trg Shaft

LD2402174389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Stari Trg, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—Since the Stari Trg miners refused to come out and send a delegation, Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Radisa Gacic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; and Jurij Bajec, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, sometime after 1700, went down to the mine shafts in which 1,300 miners are on strike for the 5th day. With them, with the miners' approval, only one TV and radio crew and a TANJUG correspondent went down.

Suvar, Gacic Leave Pit

AU2402191889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1820 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] We have our colleague Milorad Jovic on the line, who is phoning from Stari Trg, so let us hear his report:

No agreement has been reached in the Stari Trg mine pit. After 2-hour talks with the strikers in the Stari Trg mine pit 600 meters below the ground, Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Radisa Gacic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, came up to the surface at about 1900.

The journalists gathered in the administration building were not informed of the details of the talks. As I have discovered from my colleagues from Radio Television Pristina and TANJUG—who were the only ones to follow the talks in the pit—no agreement has been reached and the miners remain in the pit.

We have discovered that, as in his talks with the mine's leadership this afternoon, Stipe Suvar told the strikers that political ultimatums cannot solve problems.

Our colleagues have told us that the situation in the pit is very difficult after 5 days below the ground, and more and more strikers are coming to the end of their strength. Medical teams are intervening more frequently and those strikers in the worst state are being brought to the surface; however, as soon as they recover they demand to be allowed to return to the pit.

Finally, before we end this short live report, the strikers are continuing to stick firmly to all their demands and give the condition that Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, will have to submit his resignation before they leave the pit.

No Agreement Reached in Talks

LD2402221789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has come out of the Stari Trg mine, and his talks with miners, which lasted for 2 and ½ hours, are without results. The miners have been underground now for 5 days. Suvar went down to the eighth level of the lead and tin mine in Stari Trg at about 1600 in order to talk with some 1,300 miners who are protesting against the constitutional changes in Serbia and who are demanding the unconditional resignation of provincial party leader Rahman Morina.

The miners have decided to stay in the pits tonight, after defining their ultimatums, which they will not give up at any cost, as they stated. They also set a new deadline--0900—for the reply by the competent organs.

After descending 630 meters, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium was welcomed by 700 miners. They are visibly exhausted, unshaven, and in miners' gear, which they haven't taken off for 5 days. Radisa Gacic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Jurij Bajec, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium; and leaders of Trepca mines and plant went down with Suvar. Before that, in the workers' canteen, Suvar told the leaders of the Trepca plant that he did not have anything to say to them and that he wanted to meet the miners.

After 90 minutes of negotiaions, the miners agreed that Suvar could go down into the mine shaft. Suvar started the talks by notifying the miners that he is acquainted with their demands and he immediately told them that the basic principles of the 1974 Constitition are unchanged. He added that the issue in the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia is solely a matter for the republic and is not one of abolishing autonomy.

Suvar especially explained to the miners the disputed amendment No. 47, which regulates the provinces' agreement on the new republican Constitution. Speaking to the Albanians about what has been achieved in

Kosovo, Suvar underscored that out of 6,000 universities which exist in the world today, there is no single university at which lectures are conducted in a language of a national minority. [passage omitted]

Suvar said that he has no right to talk about the work and to criticize others at such meetings, and tomorrow morning he will call Ali Sukrija, because he is a member of the LCY Central Committee, and inform him about everything that is happening here. "What Morina did to you I do not know, but no one can order someone to resign, not even me."

Suvar stood firmly by the stand that meetings and strikes cannot dismiss party leaderships. Neither can you dismiss the party leadership. The legal party organs and statutes are meant for this, he stressed. Regarding the threat that the miners will turn to the United Nations, Suvar said: Whether you are angry with me or not, I believe that this is not right. This shows that you do not believe in Yugoslavia.

After the miners remarked that the seeds of division in Yugoslavia were sown from the LCY Central Committee, Suvar replied that Albanians shouted "We give our lives, we do not give Kosovo" at the November demonstration, forgetting that Kosovo does not belong to the Albanians alone.

"I do not have anything else to say to you," Suvar said, and repeated the appeal to the miners to leave the shafts, come to the surface, and end the strike and drama, which has been shaking the province. The talks ended in a very tense atmosphere, which occurred when Radisa Gacic tried to speak. The miners prevented him from talking.

On that occasion it seems that several miners fainted, which stirred up a commotion, and talks were ended.

Suvar then returned to the surface. Afterward the miners tried to call him back to the pits. Some said that Suvar's father was a miner.

The president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium then returned to Pristina, where he had short talks with the provincial party leadership, and then left for Belgrade.

Suvar, Milosevic in Pristina

LD2402232289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2115 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, Feb 24 (TANJUG)—The Kosovo crisis has reached a critical point in the past few days and threatens to bring about the worst, which we must prevent at all costs, League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Presidency President Stipe Suvar said in a talk with the political activist group of Kosovo in Pristina today.

Suvar said that production in the province of Kosovo had practically been paralyzed in the past five days as a result of the strike of the Trepca miners and other strikes and protests organized throughout the province out of solidarity with the miners. Pointing out that the economic consequences of the strikes affect the Kosovo population, itself, above all but also the country as a whole, Suvar recalled that Kosovo was daily receiving an immense financial assistance from Serbia and the rest of the country and that Kosovo's participation in the country's social product was below two percent.

Kosovo, whose population accounts for eight percent of Yugoslavia's inhabitants, daily receives one million dollars in assistance from the rest of the country.

Yugoslav party leader Stipe Suvar conceded that the League of Communists was responsible for the current situation in Kosovo, not having succeeded to carry out its own conclusions and stabilize the situation in Kosovo since the 1981 counter-revolution of Albanian separatists and chauvinists. Suvar said that the greatest responsibility in fact rested with the League of Communists of Kosovo, which had itself become affected by national-based divisions.

Suvar agreed with the stand of Kosovo party president Rahman Morina that the LC policy on Kosovo should not be changed, but implemented.

In his view, the situatiion [word indistinct] can be changed only by those leaderships and individuals who have the trust of [word indistinct] the nations and nationalities in the province. The LCY Central Committee Presidency has never dictated [words indistinct] or who should be elected, Suvar said.

Speaking about the harmful effects of all types of nationalism, Suvar assessed Albanian separatism in Kosovo as the most dangerous, because its aim is to break up Yugoslavia and take a part of its territory.

This will not happen while Yugoslavia exists, Suvar said, adding that a "Kosovoisation" of Yugoslavia must not be allowed.

Suvar expressed astonishment that the Albanian masses harbour so many delusions about the constitutional amendments in Serbia, and said Serbia should be granted sovereignty just like the other republics. He recalled that the changes of the Yugoslav Constitution were made with the agreement of all the republics and provinces, that the basic principles of the Yugoslav and republican Constitutions were not changed, meaning that the position of the autonomous provinces in Serbia is not being changed.

Not denying the role economic underdevelopment plays in the Kosovo crisis, Serbian party President Slobodan Milosevic stressed in a talk with Kosovo officials that Albanian separatism and chauvinism is the major obstacle for resolving the crisis.

Milosevic said that physical, political and cultural brutality by Albanian separatists, unheard of in Europe today, has resulted in migrations of Serbs and Montenegrins from the province.

This also negatively affected the life of the ethinc Albanian population, and resulted in an atmosphere of internationality intolerance, he said.

Milosevic believes that not only Albanians, but all others in Yugoslavia, are responsible for such a situation. He urged that joint efforts be invested in resolving the Kosovo crisis, so that Yugoslavia could embark on a major social reform.

Milosevic assessed as utterly unfounded the fear of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo that the changes of the Serbian Constitution would jeopardize their autonomy. This fear is based on misinformation, half-truths and ignorance he said, adding that the Kosovo party should determine who was responsible for the situation. He concluded that the changes in Serbia's Constitution guarantee equal rights to all, as well as protection from humiliation and terror.

Milosevic Calls for Equality

LD2502003989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—Politics conducted by communists can only be the politics of full national equality. Any other policy, especially those leading to the humilitation of others, cannot be allowed, and if LC members conduct it then they are not communists, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, said this afternoon in talks with participants of an expanded meeting of the Kosovo LC Electricity Board action conference Presidium. [passage omitted]

Slobodan Milosevic then commented on some questions and unclarified items left over from the previous discussion.

The basic reason why solidarity meetings with Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo cannot be equated with gatherings of Albanians is that Albaians are not endangered in Kosovo, but Serbs and Montenegrins are. In addition, Albanians are not moving out of the province under pressure, but Serbs and Montenegrins are, Milosevic said. Everyone who respects other nations and nationalities, he noted, should feel truly in his own country in Kosovo, in Serbia, in Yugoslavia, and those who are not prepared to respect this are in fact not in their own country.

Work collectives, especially big and important ones such as yours, play a major role in stabilizing intranational relations, Milosevic continued. If you do not want to resolve the present situation, no committees can force you, and you should carry on a differentiation in your work organization along those lines. He stressed that workers, naturally, are not nationalists and that this is the clear message of all party documents and conclusions. The claims that the provincial committee or the Serbian LC Central Committee concluded—that the workers are nationalists—represent pure manipulation.

In this context Milosevic spoke in great detail about the nature of the present constitutional changes in Serbia, stressing that now that they are available to everyone in a written form, they can most easily fend off manipulations with truth about the alleged curbing of autonomy rights, or about the elimination of the present rights of Albanians, and similar theses.

When the issue is demands for resignations in the provincial leadership, Milosevic claimed that a certain number of people from one or several organizations cannot decide about changes in the provincial leadership. Those comrades, perhaps, can change a municipal committee, but the issue of the provincial leadership can be decided upon only in the province as a whole, Slobodan Milosevic said, among other things.

Milosevic Speech Detailed

AU2602173389

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 26 February devotes 25 minutes of its regular "Sunday at 10" program to various reports describing events in Kosovo in chronological order since the start of the Stari Trg miners' strike on 20 February. Among the reports is the recording of a part of the speech that Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, delivered in Obilic on 24 February, addressing the political aktiv of the Kosovo Electricity Board. Here is what Milosevic said:

"Comrade Azem Kosi was one of the last speakers. He urged that all people be treated in the same way, regardless of their nationality. I wanted to cite Comrade Kosi first because I agree with him and this is not only my personal view. The policies conducted by communists can only be the policies of national equality. Any other policy, any other policy that allows national inequality, threats to people, or the humiliation of the people, cannot be ascribed to communists, which is to say, if this is done by the party members then it is certain that they are not Communists.

"Comrade Kosi also raised another question and, in enumerating many attributes and elements, wondered what the difference was between various gatherings and

protests by Serbs and Montenegrins against the pressures they are exposed to, and the demonstrations which we have faced on several occasions, particularly last fall.

"There are many differences, (?Comrade Kosi). I would not like to mention all these differences here, but I will mention only one main difference on which other differences are based. This is the difference:

"In Kosovo, it is not Albanians who are threatened, but Serbs and Montenegrins. It is not Albanians who are emigrating from Kosovo under duress, but Serbs and Montenegrins. This must stop.

"Not a single right concerning the autonomy of the provinces is being taken away and transferred onto the republic. The new Constitution gives the republic the right, which it was deprived of by the 1974 Constitution, to exercise its duties on its entire territory, the duties without which this republic would not have any authority, without which this republic would be reduced to the so-called Serbia proper, which is neither a province nor a republic, which is simply nothing.

"Somebody here said that he did not know how to act now. Comrades, I must immediately say that, since it has been said that the people from the combine are the most responsible, those who do not know how to work and act must vacate their responsible posts. Only the people who know what needs to be done and how to act should be elected to these responsible posts. We think that the LC policy is clear. This also applies to the policies of both the LCY and the LC of Serbia, as well as the Kosovo LC.

"The program of actions that has been drafted by the provincial committee contains a guideline on how to consistently implement this policy. Those who do not understand it, who do not know how to act, or do not want to act according to this policy should immediately leave responsible posts. I think that they should also leave the LC [applause]. This is what the differentiation in the LC is all about. Until we carry out this differentiation we will always live in the agony in which we have been living for 8 years, in which the crisis is becoming increasingly deeper; in which personal incomes are becoming increasingly lower; in which there are an increasing number of unemployed; and in which we know many children without job prospects will be born because (?as long as) we are confronted, we quarrel, and are divided we cannot do the work, carry out the reform, and find a way out of the crisis. This is why, comrades, we must do this immediately. If we do it immediately and jointly, all together, Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others, then we will succeed in it."

Strikes Continue Through Night

AU2402214289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Here is a report by Milivoje Mihajlovic in Pristina on today's events in Kosovo:

Uncertainty continues in Kosovo. The Stari Trg miners are remaining in the pits tonight. Workers are still striking in many collectives. More than 5,000 students will probably spend the night in the 25 May Sports Hall in Pristina. These futile protests are approaching their sixth day.

The session of the university Communists in Pristina has been postponed, which should have been attended by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

While life in collectives throughout Kosovo is still paralyzed, the streets of Pristina are calm tonight, as if nothing more serious is happening on the political scene.

Miners' Health 'Serious'

LD2502003589 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Good evening, dear listeners. The situation in Kosovo is still dramatic. According to our information, Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, went down to the Stari Trg pits, where the miners are this afternoon. [passage omitted] Here is our correspondent Kurtes Devaj:

[Devaj] Dear listeners, it is very difficult for your correspondent to describe in this report everything that has been happening in Kosovo today. The state of health of miners 800 meters below the ground is not only serious but is alarming, Dr Janko Obocki, president of the Federal Committee for Labor, Health and Social Policy, stated after examining the miners. The state of health of the Pristina University students is in danger. The students are still in the 25 May hall, and are still on a hunger strike. Furthermore, hunger strikes and work stoppages are continuing in work collectives. As a sign of solidarity with the Trepca miners, private shops of members of the Albanian, Turkish, and Muslim nationalities are closed in almost the entire territory of Kosovo. Workers and professors of the Law Faculty in Pristina sent an appeal in the name of justice to the entire social community to help save miners' lives, and they demand that students and pupils return to their classrooms. [passage omitted]

Slobodan Milosevic talked with Communists of the Kosovo Electricity Board today. Communists of this big collective in Pristina presented Slobodan Milosevic, in a logical and argumented concrete fashion, all the facts that have influenced the destabilization of social and political life in Kosovo. They stressed that claims that genocide terror and fascism are taking place in Kosovo are false. It is inadmissible that the Albanian nationality be equated with nationalism and separatism. Some Serbian leaders greatly insult members of the Albanian nationality. Anti-Albanian sentiments are spreading in Serbia. Disinformation about Albanians and slanders on them are present in some public information media; therefore, Communists of the Electricity Board demand the resignations of Slobodan Milosevic, Rahman

Morina, Ali Sukrija, and Husamedin Azemi. Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee, said that the Consitution of Serbia as a republic on its entire territory does not endanger the rights of Albanians. He stressed that Rahman Morina's resignation is out of the question, because only the Stari Trg miners demand the resignation.

After his speech in the afternoon, a new wave of reactions started because Rahman Morina's resignation is demanded not only by the Stari Trg miners, but by the entire working class of the Albanian nationality.

At today's joint session, delegates of all three chambers of Kosovo's Assembly elected Sefcet Mustafa, Bogdan Lazic, and Stevo Vukovic as members of the Kosovo Presidency. The delegates refused to agree to release Nabi Gasi from his post.

More Workers on Strike

LD2502103689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0839 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The situation in Kosovo remains unchanged. Although most collectives do not work on weekends, work stoppages continued this morning even where production should not be halted. For instance, only 12 workers are dong their best to keep the machines running in the Prizren Printeks works, while 300 Albanian workers are refusing to work.

This morning, however, there were new work stoppages by Albanian drivers in the city transport organizations. Traffic is paralyzed in Pristina, Lipljan, Titova Mitrovica, and Kamenica.

Apart from the Trepca miners, a group of miners from the magnesium mine in Goles and the Muahdzer Babus lignite mine are also not leaving the pits. Private craftsmen are not working in Pristina and in a number of other places. In expectation of a settlement of the situation, tension is growing in Stari Trg, in Kosovo, although everything looks outwardly normal. The students in the "25 May" sports hall are still the most voluble.

The Stari Trg miners refused to receive a representative of the trade union organizations of all the republics and provinces during the night. During the night Stojce Stojcevski, secretary of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, and Tomislav Milenkovic, president of the trade union organization, visited the miners recovering in the miners' first aid clinic. There was news that a meeting was held in the Kosovo Trade Union in the night, during which some members of the Albanian nationality tendered resignations from the provincial Trade Union Federation Presidium.

Kosovo Leaders Receive Support

LD2502114489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0937 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—LC municipal committees throughout Kosovo have held emergency sessions to examine the situation in these environments. The municipal party leaderships concluded that the situation caused by the miners' strike in the Trepca mine and numerous other work organizations is difficult, with the tendency of further aggravation. They voiced support for the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, President Rahman Morina, and the stands of the top party organ on the latest events in the provinces.

Demands were heard at the meetings that the strikers should immediately return to work to prevent any further exacerbation of the situation. In a number of environments the strikes were assessed as the continuation of nationalist and separatist demonstrations occurring November of last year. It was requested that the names of the organizers of the November demonstrations as well as of the February wave of strikes be announced as soon as possible. It was also emphasized that the latest strikes and protests are causing enormous damage to the economy of the province.

Strikers Backed by Collectives

LD2502155489 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Summary] "The situation in Kosovo is becoming further aggravated, although talks continued this morning with the miners at their request, and in accordance with the deadline they set for 0900 today. The latest information shows that contacts have been continued even later on, mainly unsuccessfully. Our correspondent from Pristina, Kurtes Devai, reports:

[Devai] "The situation in Kosovo is getting more and more complex by the hour. Over 3,000 miners in Stari Trg, Kisnica, Novo Brdo, Babus, and Goles have been underground for 6 days now. Many of them are physically weak and their lives are in danger. From unofficial sources we have learned that a session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium is under way to examine the situation which has newly arisen, and an official statement is expected to be announced."

The Presidiums of sociopolitical organs and management structures of Trepca miners have sent appeals to the working class and to Yugoslavia as a whole this morning to help resolve the situation and save the lives of over 1,300 miners. Numerous collectives in Kosovo keep sending messages supporting the miners in their demands. A number of Albanian members tendered their resignations at last night's session of the Kosovo Trade Union. Most of the collectives in Kosovo are not working today.

About 7,000 students are still gathered at the "25 May" sports hall and are still refusing food. The number of miners seeking medical help is increasing all the time. There is increased interest in all radio and television broadcasts. Messages of solidarity with the miners have started to arrive from all parts of the country.

Presidency Session Held 24 Feb

LD2602101489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—At its session today The SR of Serbia Presidency, chaired by Petar Gracanin, concluded that in light of the latest developments, the current political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is definitely deteriorating. The normal life of the working people and citizens has been made impossible, the work of a great number of institutions of the system has been threatened, and the work of the organs of authority, of social activities, and of services of vital interest for the citizens—such as supplies for the citizens, transportation and others—has been paralyzed.

Because of work stoppages, the statement issued from the session says, economic difficulties are multiplying, which creates the danger that unforeseeable material consequences may occur and social property may be damaged. All this poses a direct threat to public peace and order and the security of working people and citizens. This basically amounts to open opposition to the LCY'S stances and policy and destablization of the political and security situation in Kosovo, which poses a serious threat to the system established by the Constitution.

Bearing all this in mind, the SR of Serbia Presidency has come to the conclusion that all political, legal, and other measures have to be taken to halt work stoppages, resume the production process, ensure the functioning of the system as a whole, protect personal and property security of all working people and citizens, and protect social property. To achieve this, political, business, and self-management leaderships; organs of authority; and organs of the judiciary, sociopolitical, and other self-management organizations and communities are obliged to become involved in the implementation of these tasks.

A special effort must be made to make the miners stop their occupation at the mine faces and resume their work. Any more work stoppages will cause direct damage to all the workers, working people, and citizens in Kosovo.

The SR of Serbia Presidency stresses that the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, which have been cited as the reason for the protests, by no means threaten the Albanian nationals and do not curtail the autonomy of the province. These changes ensure all the democratic rights of the working people and citizens in Kosovo, strengthen brotherhood, unity, and equality of all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo, and are in line with the LCY policy. The leadership of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo must become involved—in a most direct and responsible way—in the solution of existing difficulties and in devising the right solutions, and in establishing work, order, and peace in the province as soon as possible. In this they will have the full support of the working people and citizens of the SR of Serbia and of our country as a whole.

The SR of Serbia Presidency supports the conclusions and stances of the SFRY Presidency in connection with the political and security situation in Kosovo and the adoption of all measures envisaged by the Constitution and legislation to prevent a serious threat to public order and peace and to the constitutional system in the province, the statement issued from the session of the SR of Serbia Presidency says in conclusion.

Serbs Demand Army Intervention

AU2502152789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Here is a report by Milivoje Mihajlovic on events in Kosovo since the deadline for the Stari Trg miners' ultimatum ran out:

As was expected, Serbs and Montenegrins have begun to react to the latest events in Kosovo. At 1400 [1300 GMT], a meeting of about 300 Serbs and Montenegrins from almost all areas of the province began in the Cultural Hall in Kosovo Polje.

They are demanding that the Yugoslav leadership energetically stop the negative trends in the province and the (?psychosis) of anxiety and fear. In the discussion so far, it has been assessed that most workers in Kosovo, above all miners, are being manipulated.

Unanimous support was given to the renovated party leadership of Kosovo, and especially Rahman Morina, Ali Sukrija, and Husamedin Azemi. It was said today that the provincial leadership has taken several measures to halt the counterrevolution in Kosovo and has established unity with the leaderships of Serbia and Yugoslavia, and that it must be defended.

This meeting called on Serbs and Montenegrins not to emigrate from Kosovo. It was decided today that a delegation of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins will go to Belgrade to demand that the SFRY Presidency and the General Staff of the Yugoslavia People's Army energetically halt the dramatic situation in Kosovo.

Presidency Meets Delegation

LD2602091789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0002 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Belgrade TV announced in its last newscast [of 25 February] that talks were under way in the Serbian Presidency with the

delegation of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. The TV studio reported that Petar Gracanin, president, and Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of this Presidency, were briefed in detail on the difficult situation in the province. They placed special emphasis on the fact that the strike and protests by Albanians have been reflecting on the general psychosis and the extremely difficult position of the non-Albanian population in this province.

The bulletin also announced a possibility that the Kosovo delegation may be received by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, during the night.

Delegation, Dizdarevic Talk

LD2602092189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0328 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received during the night the delegation of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, which conveyed to him the concern of the Serbian and Montenegrin population over the seriously aggravated political and security situation in their province.

In a lengthy conversation, Raif Dizdarevic briefed the delegation on the assessments and conclusions of the SFRY Presidency in connection with the latest political and security situation in Kosovo and on the measures which the Presidency and other state organs have taken and are taking in order to reach effective solutions.

After the talks with President Dizdarevic, the delegation left for Kosovo.

Security Forces Increased

LD2502180689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency announced tonight that it has issued orders for security forces in Kosovo to be increased and that it has decided to send additional forces to join the combined unit of the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs. The statement issued from the 2-day session of the SFRY Presidency says that measures have also been taken to protect objects of special significance and to ensure the functioning of vital services. Adoption of other measures depending on the development of the situation in Kosovo is under consideration.

The text of the statement is as follows:

The SFRY Presidency held serious sessions yesterday and today during which they considered the current political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Provinces [SAP] of Kosovo.

The SFRY Presidency has been informed of the visits and the talks which, in accordance with the decision of the SFRY Presidency, were made and held in the Kosovo SAP by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, and about the visit to Kosovo made by Stipe Suvar, President of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and member of the SFRY Presidency.

Dobrosav Culafic and Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretaries for internal affairs and foreign affairs, respectively, briefed the SFRY Presidency on the latest situation and on the development of the situation in that province. The SFRY Presidency was also briefed on the assessments of the situation provided by the Presidency of the Kosovo SAP.

The SFRY Presidency informed the public about its assessments and conclusions about the political and security situation in the Kosovo SAP adopted on 23 February of this year. Regarding further worsening of the situation in Kosovo, the SFRY Presidency warns again and especially draws attention to legal and constitutional accountability of all state and self-managing organs in the province, leading people in organizations of associated labor, deans, professors and teachers in schools, and faculties, to make maximum efforts, which is their legal and social responsibility, to normalize life as soon as possible, to secure, for functioning of institutions of the system, all vital services and all education institutions, and see that normal work and production be continued in the province.

The SFRY Presidency already warned that continuation of such a difficult situation in the SAP of Kosovo brings with it the threat of serious danger to public order and peace and the constitutional system in the province, and that it will—in accordance with its constitutional and legal rights and obligations—undertake all measures established by the SFRY Constitution and law to remove the dangers. Within that framework, the SFRY Presidency ordered that security forces in the SAP of Kosovo be strengthend and decided that additional forces should be sent to combined units of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Measures are undertaken for protection of objects of special importance and for providing functioning of vital services in the SAP of Kosovo.

The SFRY Presidency is considering undertaking other measures in the SAP of Kosovo, depending on further development of political and security situation in this province, the end of the statement says.

90 Miners Taken to Clinics

LD2502190589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1752 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Today 90 miners were transferred to clinics from the Stari Trg mines in Trepca. Twenty-six miners are being treated in a hospital

in Titova Mitrovica. Skender Bosnjaku, president of the provincial committee for health and social policy, stated that no miner's life is in danger.

According to TANJUG reporters, the management of the mine, in which miners have been on strike for 6 days underground, is acquiring a certain number of beds in provisional clinics. It is reported that 200 hospital beds will be needed.

Miners in Stari Trg are receiving medical aid material from many places in the province, as well as other material help.

Life Almost 'Paralyzed'

LD2502192789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Gnjilane, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The situation in the Gnjilane municipality is more difficult today than yesterday. Conditions for normal life are almost completely paralyzed. The strike by workers of Albanian nationality in the Kosovo transport organization made travel by citizens, workers, and students more difficult. Some settlements are without electricity because of the work stoppage by a certain number of workers of the Kosovo electricity board.

Last night approximately 600 students and their teachers, all of Albanian nationality, spent a night in the Zejnel Hajdini secondary school. Serbian and Montenegrin students who regularly attend lectures were forced to leave the afternoon session early for security reasons, since they have to walk through Albanian settlements on their way home.

Yesterday's call by the minicipal committee for workers and students to end thier strike had no effect. Thirty miners of magnesite mines in Srezovac, near Kosovska Kamenica, expressed solidarity with the Trepca miners.

Leaders' Resignations Demanded

LD2502215589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovic, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—During the day, meetings of the LC municipal commitee and the Presidium of the municipal council of trade unions were held in Titova Mitrovica. The meeting of the municipal committee, which discussed the political and security situation in the minicipality, the Stari Trg mine, and the Trepca plant, adopted the stand that an extraordinary session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Commitee be convened as soon as possible during the day. The meeting issued a statement saying that on the basis of exclusively humanitarian reasons, in order for miners to come out of the pit, it would be necessary to act on their demands regading the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija. This does not question support for the LCY policy and efforts by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium to implement this policy, the statement asserts. The Titova Mitrovica LC Municipal Committee will assess the ideo-political and other responsibility of organizations, organs, and individuals in this municipality as soon as conditions for this exist.

The session of the Presidium of the municipal council of trade unions in Titova Mitrovica adopted the stand that a session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee be speeded up through the influence of the provincial council of the Kosovo Trade Unions.

Employees in the Trepca battery industry in Titova Mitrovica are not working as a sign of solidarity with Trepca miners. Students of the mining and metallurgy faculty in Titova Mitrovica are boycotting lectures. The lead furnace in Zvecan is not working. The production process is normal in the Trepca chemical industry and zinc metallurgy. Many private shop employees, as well as catering staff, are not working in the town. Today streets were emptier than usual even though it was a market day.

'Drama' Nearing End

LD2602105889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0925 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The miners' drama seems to be reaching the end. A positive outcome may be expected in the next few hours.

This is the impression of TANJUG's reporters who have been outside the Stari Trg mine since this morning, where over 1,200 miners have been on strike in the shafts since Monday.

At present no journalists are being allowed inside the lead and zinc mine. Intensive talks are under way in the adinistrative building of the mine between a number of the leaders of the provincial party committee and miners' representatives.

The journalists were told that a press conference would be held at 1100 [1000 GMT], when they will be allowed to enter the mine.

There is news that there were intensive negotiations last night, the goal of which was for the miners to leave the shafts and thus remove the cause of the present tension in Kosovo. The students who are still protesting in the "25 May" sports hall in Pristina announced that they will disperse as well if the miners end their strike.

'Day of Great Uncertainty'

LD2602115689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0918 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, Feb 26 (TANJUG)—For some 1.8 million inhabitants of Yugoslavia's Province of Kosovo, today is a day of great uncertainty.

Miners of the Trepca lead and zinc mine have entered the seventh day of their underground sit-in, and students still occupy a sports hall in the provincial capital of Pristina.

The province is torn by strikes, protests, and counter-protests. Serbs and Montenegrins are rising in some parts of Kosovo as well.

This day will put to the test last night's order by the State Presidency strengthening the security forces in Kosovo and dispatching reinforcements to a federal paramilitary unit already in the province. The test will be all the more important, as the Presidency made clear that it will consider taking other measures depending on the situation [passage omitted]

Meanwhile in Kosovo last night, a group of about one hundred students of ethnic Albanian nationality tried to stage a protest through the center of the city of Urosevac. As reported, following a police warning and without the use of force, the students were stopped from demonstrating.

Reports on the miners are contradictory. There are claims, for example, that miners at the Kisnica mine near Gracanica are not on hunger strike and are even receiving tropical fruit. They are said to be rotating turns in the pit and are being joined by persons totally unconnected with mining. It is believed that ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists have infiltrated the mine.

Latest reports say that the situation in the province appears calm.

Police presence in the streets and around public buildings looks normal.

SFRY Government Acts

LD2602131289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's Government, in cooperation with Serbian authorities, is taking steps to implement the state Presidency's political security measures in Kosovo Province.

The main effort will be to keep power generation, public transport, health and other vital services going and to guard facilities of special importance.

The Federal Secretariat for Information said today that the government had dispatched a group of ministers and other federal officials to Kosovo in order to help their Serbian and Kosovo colleagues coordinate and supervise the implementation of these tasks by competent authorities.

The government has already sent necessary quantities of medicaments and other sanitary material from federal reserves to Kosovo, as well as equipment essential to operate vital economic facilities.

In keeping with the state Presidency's decision, the Federal Secretariat for International Affairs has directed paramilitary reinforcements to the province and has undertaken other security measures to protect constitutional order in Kosovo.

Morina Predicts End to 'Drama'

LD2602134289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1136 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Committee Presidium, has confirmed in his talks with TANJUG journalists that the denouement of the Stari Trg mine drama is expected by 1400. We expect that the miners will leave the shafts, Morina added.

As a human being I was deeply affected by this drama, and if it had all depended on my resignation, I would have been the happiest man alive and would have resigned immediately, just as I proposed to do, Morina stressed.

The Trepca miners' demands were purely political, and there was no question of morality or human feelings. In this case my resignation would have meant giving up the fight and yielding to those forces that oppose the realization of the LCY policy on Kosovo. It would be dangerous to halt the realization of these stances and conclusions on Kosovo, not only for Kosovo, but for the whole country as well, Rahman Morina pointed out.

Miners Expected To Come Out

AU2602143789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Milorad Jovic report]

[Text] We now have the latest report from Stari Trg by Milorad Jovic:

Several minutes ago Brane Radulov, vice president of the provincial committee for information, told journalists in Stari Trg that there are great chances that the miners will soon come out of the shaft. Journalists were informed that Rahman Morina and Husamedin Azemi offered their resignations, a matter which will be discussed at the session of the Pristina LC Communal and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committees.

The miners were told that the forthcoming constitutional changes do not question the autonomy of the province. They were told that a list of organizers of the November demonstrations does not exist and that the law on early retirement of Kosovo teachers will most probably be withdrawn as unconstitutional.

That the miners will soon end their strike and come out of the shaft is indicated by the fact that a team of doctors went to the shaft several minutes ago. It is possible that this will take place at 1600 [1500 GMT], because a new press conference is scheduled to take place at that time.

Resignations To Be Considered

LD2602153589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Summary] The situation in Kosovo is still very serious, but there are indications that the drama may be resolved soon. About a dozen journalists have been waiting ouside the Stari Trg pit entrance for the first sign of miners to appear. Pristina correspondent Kurtes Devai reports that a press conference was held in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee an hour ago, at which member Baskim Hisari gave the journalists the following information:

"[Devai] Within the framework of numerous activities, which the Kosovo, Serbian and Yugoslav LCs and other state organs are and will be taking to stabilize the situation in Kosovo, especially in order to save the lives of the miners of Trepca and other mines who have been underground for 7 days now, the Kosovo Presidency and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium have examined the miners' demands and are giving them the following guarantee:

"The adopted amendments to the SFRY Constitution did not change the basic principles of the Constitutions of the SFRY, nor of the republics and provinces, and the changes carried out in the normative part ensure fuller and more consistent realization of the principles in the 1974 Constitution. The Kosovo Assembly will state its views on the amendments to the Serbian Constitution at one of its future sessions. The guarantee for this are the stands of the LCY contained in the documents of the 13th Congress and the 17th LCY Central Committee session. The [Kosovo] Presidium and Presidency state with full resonsibility that they do not have at their disposal any lists of organizers of the November assembly. Also, the Presidium and the Presidency recommend that the Kosovo Assembly authorities withdraw from the previous procedure the draft law on premature retirement of educational workers, which had not been adopted in public discussion.

"As far as the miners' demands for the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija are concerned, the Presidium and the Presidency note that Rahman Morina and Husamedin Azemi have offered and are offering to resign, which will be decided upon by the Presidency and the provincial committee, as well as by the Presidency and the Municipal Committee of Pristina, in keeping with the statutory provisions. The resignation of Ali Sukrija will be decided upon by the LCY Central Committee, also in keeping with the statutory provisions."

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Crolatian at 1309 GMT on 26 February, in a related report, adds: "Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Kosovo Presidency, is among the miners in Stari Trg. Together with other provincial officials, he is talking to the strikers and explaining to them the stands which the Kosovo party Presidium and Presidency have adopted in order to overcome the current situation."]

Official Denies Vlasi's Visit

AU2602151489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Milorad Jovic report]

[Text] Some 1,200 miners are still in the shaft of the Trepca mine Stari Trg. Here is a report by Milorad Jovic:

Today, the striking miners refused to have any contacts with journalists because they are of the opinion that journalists are not adequately reporting on the situation in the mine. Surija Pupovci, president of the provincial constitutional commission;Nik Ljumezi, member of the provincial constitutional commission; and Fazer Susuri, vice president of the Provincial Executive Council, are currently with the miners. The representatives of the striking miners from the Kisnica, Ajvalija, and Novo Brdo mines are also in the delegation.

Journalists were not informed about these talks. They were only told that efforts are being made to persuade the miners of the Stari Trg to come out. During the night, as we were informed, Bajram Seljami, member of the Serbian Presidency, and Hasim Redzepi, member of the provincial committee, held unsuccessful talks with miners.

Today, around midday, journalists were addressed by Kamder Avdiju, deputy president of the provincial committee for information. We asked him whether, as some media had claimed today, Azem Vlasi, Kolj Siroka, and Bahrin Oruci talked to the striking miners on Friday night [24 February].

[Begin Avdiju recording] I am not interested in speculations because people's lives in the shaft are more important than politicizing whether they went down in the pit or not. If they went down, they went down, if they did not, then they did not. This is not a secret. [end recording]

The news was also denied by Dr Azem Azemi, who allegedly said this to some journalists yesterday.

[Begin Azemi recording] This is an invention, (?this is a sheer lie), made with the purpose of closing the mine door to me. [end recording]

Kamder Avdiju mainly spoke about the miners' difficult situation and the help that was being sent from the province and other places in the country.

Because of their serious health problems, some 100 miners have bee placed, as reported, in the mine's health center, which has only 65 beds. Another 31 miners are receiving medical help in Titova Mitrovica. One of them is critically ill. The miners in the shaft mainly complain about headache, pain in the eyes, exhaustion, and digestion problems.

Vlasi Confirms Visiting Mine

LD2602174489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Today Azem Vlasi confirmed in the statement to Zagreb Vecernji List [Evening News] that he, together with Bahri Oruci, visited the Stari Trg miners after Stipe Suvar's visit.

Vlasi stresses that he was shocked when he heard that talks between Suvar and the miners had no effect, and for that reason he immediately decided to go there as a private citizen, as he put it. I was let in the mine according to the estalished procedure of the police security and security of the miners themselves. Vlasi said that this was not a backdoor, secret visit. I have seen the ill and the exhausted in the clinic, he says, and I tried to persuade them not to go to the pit anymore. I stressed that I had not been sent by anyone, that my visit was not official, and that I had not previously informed anyone about anything. Vlasi makes this clear, and he adds that he went down the pit to the eighth and ninth level. I said to the miners that I believed that after the talks with Suvar, some solution would be found and that it would be best if they leave immediately and continue talks about their demands outside. I stressed that this depends on their decision, but that the lives and health of people are the most important issue.

The next day I informed comrades from the top leadership of the provincial committee about this, Vlasi cites, among other things, in the statement to Vercnji List.

Agreement Expected at Talks

LD2602165589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—According to the latest information from TANJUG correspondents on the Trepca mine in Stari Trg, negotiations with miners are still in progress. At the news conference at 1530 GMT, it was said that chances are that an agreement will be reached to end the miners' strike. The next meeting with journalists is scheduled for 1700 GMT.

Situation Still 'Uncertain'

AU2602190689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1825 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Milorad Jovic report]

[Text] The situation in Stari Trg is still unchanged. Here is a report by Milorad Jovic:

In the Stari Trg mine the day went by with negotiations and waiting. Negotiations have not been successful and the waiting continues. It would be very difficult to recall all the delegations that have gone down into the shaft since last night.

The miners know that Husamedin Azemi and Rahman Morin have offered their resignations. They were told that the law on the early retirement of teachers in Kosovo will most likely be withdrawn. They were also told that the envisaged constitutional changes will not affect the province's autonomy.

However, they are still refusing to come out. This was stated by Kamder Avdiju, vice president of the provincial committee for Information.

[Begin Avdiju recording] As I have learned, the miners are resolute in their demand that Comrade Rahman Morina must tender his resignation. [end recording]

Teams of doctors are also in the shaft because, as Skender Bosnjaku, president of the provincial committee for labor, health, and social policy said, the miners' health and psychological state is deteriorating.

[Begin Bosnjaku recording] My impression is that this is a collective [words indistinct] and that the situation in dominated by irrationality. It is psychologically difficult [words indistinct] even collective paranoia when ....[recording interrupted by reporter]

How the 7-day old Trepca miners' strike will end is still uncertain.

Miners Decide To Stay in Pits

LD2602184789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Titova Mitrovic, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Miners of the Trepca mine in Stari Trg decided this evening, sometime before 1900, to remain in the pit until they receive written confirmation that Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija tendered resignations from their posts. [passage omitted]

Strike, Demands Continue

AU2702100389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0940 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Kosta Krajincanic report]

[Text] Here is a report by Kosta Krajincanic on the latest situation in Kosovo:

The miners' demands are unchanged. They are asking for the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija. They were visited in the pit last night by a delegation from the other Kosovo mines and a delegation of students from Pristina University. We

discovered that on this occasion the miners advised the students to attend classes regularly and to return to the 25 May sports center at the end of classes.

As I speak, a group of journalists are departing for Leposevic, where miners of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality have announced that they will go down into the Kopaonik mine as a sign of protest against the crisis and as a sign of support for the Kosovo party leadership.

Meanwhile, a session of the Pristina LC Communal Committee is being held in Pristina which will discuss the situation which has been caused by the latest events, including the demands for resignations.

Kosovo Leadership Views Demands

AU2602192689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Milivoj Mihajlovic report]

[Text] The possibility of an end to the drama of the Kosovo miners was announced this morning after a session of the Kosovo Presidency and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. At this session, about which journalists were informed at a press conference held this afternoon, the Kosovo leadership demonstrated maximum understanding for the miners' demands. It was assessed that the situation in the province is so serious that it could escalate into serious interethnic clashes.

Replying to the miners' demands, the Kosovo leadership first stated that the constitutional changes do not affect the basic principles of the current Constitution. The leadership also stated that constitutional changes in Serbia will be discussed by the Kosovo Assembly and that the party plenums' conclusions are the guarantee for this.

The Kosovo Presidency and the party Presidium concluded with full responsibility that they do not have a list of organizers of the November demonstrations. Appropriate organs were asked to withdraw the text of the draft law on the early retirement of teachers.

In regard to demands for the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija, the Presidency and the Presidium said that Morina and Azem have and are still offering their resignations and that, if this takes place, this will be discussed at a session of the provincial and communal LC Committees.

A possible resignation by Ali Sukrija will be discussed by the LCY Central Committee.

At this press conference it was said that the Kosovo leadership was hoping that an agreement would be reached with Trepca miners this evening.

The party leadership has received numerous telegrams of support. Some telegrams are calling for resignations as well. In all places in which Serbs and Montenegrins live, there are meetings at which support is being extended to the provincial leadership.

Support is also being expressed by many communal committees. The Presidium of the Djakovica LC Communal Committee today called for Morina's resignation. At a press conference held at the provincial committee, it was stated that those who are calling for Rahman Morina's resignation do not have sufficient arguments, because he has been president for only 20 days. It is obvious that this represents an opposition to the LC policy which the leadership, led by Morina, finally started to implement in Kosovo.

It was stated that the party leadership will not allow Morina to resign. This is no longer just his own concern, because these demands are intended to prevent the action on the realization of the party stands on Kosovo.

This afternoon several hundred Serbs and Montenegrins held a meeting in Klina. They demand that the government not give in to separatist pressure, that the provincial leadership not resign, and that law and order be consistently respected.

At the very hot political scene in Kosovo it appears that emotions are boiling. It appears that some people are not satisfied with what the Yugoslav leadership has done so far in order to calm Kosovo down. Throughout the province there is a general strike by Albanians. Students and pupils are also protesting. Despite tension and nervousness, so far there have been no serious incidents.

LCY Presidency Statement

LD2702023089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0041 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 27 (TANJUG)—It is essential now in Kosovo for the miners to leave the pits to save their lives and health, immediately renew production and secure the functioning of all services vital to life and health, a statement from tonight's special session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Presidency said.

The Presidency said the ideo-political foundations of changes in Serbia's republican Constitution were in accord with LCY determinations and should be adopted in the envisaged period. Political work for that goal should clearly interpret the fact that the basic principles of the 1974 Constitution have not been changed.

Misinformation on the essence of the constitutional changes is aimed at creating opposition and is, therefore, a harsh political abuse and opposition to our basic social determination, the party Presidency statement said.

The Presidency stressed its determination and the need to consistently implement the established LCY policy on Kosovo in which the main role should be played by Kosovo's provincial and Serbia's republican party leaderships.

In regard to responsibility and possible resignations by some party officials, the LCY Presidency said those questions could be resolved only in LCY organs and in accord with the LCY statute.

Presidium in Emergency Session

LD2702093989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0010 GMT 27 Feb 89

["Statement From the Emergency Session of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee believes that now the most important task is for the miners to come out of the mine and for their health and lives to be safeguarded. All activities by political and state organs must be subordinated to this task. This is stated in the statement from the emergency session today of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee (chaired by Dr. Stipe Suvar), which again discussed the most topical aspects of the very acute political and security situation in Kosovo and, in this connection, the activities, commitments, and responsibilities of the LC organs and organizations in Kosovo, Serbia, and throughout the country.

To achieve this, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee addresses itself again to the Stari Trg miners, asking them to come out of the pits. This will create the conditions that will enable their demands and proposals to be discussed and resolved democratically, hand in hand with comprehensive evaluation and responsible decision making, for which we all bear responsibility and to which we are all duty bound and called on to make our contribution. In this sense, the Presidium endorsed the evaluations and the remarks made by the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and by the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC addressed to the Stari Trg miners. The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee appeals to the working class throughout the country to join this appeal to the miners, stresses the statement.

The Presidium once again stresses the resolve and the need for the agreed on LCY policy on Kosovo to be carried out consistently and comprehensively and without deviation. Regarding this, paramount and immediate commitments and responsibility devolve on the Kosovo LC and on the Serbian LC and on all other LC organs, organizations, institutions, and bodies of the country's political system.

The situation dictates that political work among the people and among the workers and young people should be substantially stepped up. This is required to unmask and prevent the counter revolutionary objectives and slogans of Albanian nationalism and separatism, which is trying to provoke a paralysis of the economic and political life in Kosovo and to engender a dangerous trouble spot that will lead to the destabilization of the SFRY. At the same time, persistent struggle is required against any other type of nationalist activity, against the creation of anti-Albanian and anti-Serb sentiments, and to secure the safety of the Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of all other nations and nationalities in Kosovo, stresses the statement.

Production and work in Kosovo must be resumed as a matter of urgency and the functioning of all production plants and of all the institutions and services important for the life and health of the people secured. In this context, support is rendered to the measures by appropriate state organs and institutions of the system.

The Presidium reiterates that the ideopolitical foundations implicit in the changes in the Serbian Constitution are consonant with LCY commitments and that these changes have to be adopted by the envisaged deadline; in political work the fact has to be explained clearly and unequivocally that the basic principles of the 1974 Constitution have not been changed. Assorted misinformation about the substance of constitutional changes are calculated to provoke resistance and, accordingly, this misinformation amounts to crude political abuse and opposition to our basic social commitments.

Regarding the question of responsibility and possible resignations by individuals, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee stresses that these issues can be resolved only within the LC organs, in keeping with the LCY Statute.

The statement says in conclusion that the Presidium has addressed a separate appeal to the Stari Trg miners. A special working group will personally brief the miners on it.

Azemi Resigns From Presidency

LD2702100589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0938 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—During today's emergency session of the Presidium of the Municipal Committee of the LC of Pristina, which is still in progress, Husamedin Azemi, Presidium president, tendered his resignation.

Azemi's resignation is one of the three resignations the [Stari Trg] miners are demanding as an ultimatum, and as a condition for them to leave the mine and end their 7-day strike.

Kosovo's Morina Leaves Post

LD2702140889 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Feb

[Text] We have just received the news that Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, has submitted his resignation from his post.

Kosovo SAWP Discussion

AU2502200289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 89 p 3

[R. Barjaktarevic report: "On an Announcement Without Comment"]

[Text] Pristina, 22 Feb—The situation in Kosovo is becoming increasingly complex. The situation is particularly alarming in Titova Mitrovica, Suva Reka, Pec, Gnjilane, Urosevac, and Pristina. The workers class, working people, and young people are following the course of the LCY, but some people have appeared among them who offer extremely hostile and unacceptable concepts.

This was said by Daut Jasanica, president of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium, at the beginning of today's session of the SAWP Provincial Conference, which endorsed the list of six possible candidates for the SFRY Presidency from Kosovo.

Briefing the conference on the latest strikes by workers which are being used to resist constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia and the implementation of the conclusions of the highest party forum, Daut Jasanica asked the members of the conference to involve themselves as much as possible, and in an extremely serious way in their communities, to eliminate all speculation and manipulation which are to the advantage of Albanian nationalists and separatists, and which concern the claim that a mistaken policy is allegedly being conducted toward the Albanian nationality in Kosovo.

"We remain consistent in the implementation of the stands and conclusions of the 9th, 16th, and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo," said Daut Jasanica.

Speaking about the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, Jasanica said that there was a consensus on almost all the questions. "We have clearly said that the constitutional changes do not change the constitutional principles of 1974. However, the nationalists are going further and asking that the questions over which there is no consensus not be changed. We must do everything so that the working people and citizens of Kosovo return to normal life and work and so that we condemn and dissociate ourselves from unacceptable demands," said Jasanica.

The members of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium endorsed without discussion the announcement by the Presidency of the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium on the latest events in Stari Trg and further afield in Kosovo.

The list of six possible candidates for membership to the SFRY Presidency was also endorsed without a discussion. Remzi Koljgeci, Rahman Morina, Vukasin Jokanovic, Bajram Seljani, Savo Komadinic, and Tomislav Sekulic were proposed. Nazmi Mustafa and Stevan Baljosevic declined their candidacies for this post.

The introductory speaker, Bajram Selimi, said that the most prominent personalities who are well known among the wider public for their work and their ideopolitical and moral qualities and who are resolute fighters for the consistent implementation of LCY policy had been proposed for the most prominent posts.

In the conference's interval, a polemical discussion took place at the session of the SAWP nomination conference at which eight candidates were proposed for the four vacated places in the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Vehbi Hajredini, Esad Stavileci, Aleksandar Peric, and Aleksandar Vasic asked for a reply from the coordinating body for conducting cadre policy, and especially from Daut Jasanica, to the question of why the prenomination and nomination procedures in regard to the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo were not conducted democratically according to the Constitution, and why the social agreement of 1982 was not brought into line with the 1985 rule book.

Vehbi Hajredini was explicit: "The Constitution was not respected." He was particularly reproachful of the fact that in the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo there are no members of the Muslim and Turkish nationalities, nor have any been nominated. "I propose that two Muslims be nominated instead of one Albanian; these should be Haki Adrovic from Pec and Harun Hasani from Dragas," said Hajredini.

However, the nomination conference nominated for membership of the Presidency of the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province Sefcet Mustafa, Redzep Hadjimusa, Bajram Gasi, and Muhamet Mustafa (of Albanian nationality), Bozidar Lazic and Pera Radovanovic (of Serbian nationality), and Rado Zvicer and Sveta Vukovic (of Montenegrin nationality).

Intellectuals Issue Statement

AU2502150289 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] A statement issued by the Kosovo Writers Association and the Kosovo Association of the Albanian Language and Literature Teachers stresses their disappointment with the disregarding attitude of the political

organs and institutions of Kosovo toward the demands of the Trepca miners. The two associations stress that the authorities must consider the demands of the working people, students, and other citizens of Albanian nationality in Kosovo as important demands of the Albanian people in Kosovo.

The Trepca miners' strike and the solidarity with this strike show that the Albanian people are deeply concerned about their constitutional rights. The two associations' statement then goes on to say that there is no democratic legitimacy in proposed constitutional amendments that go against the will of the people, a will that was expressed in the constitutional debate and in the protest meetings of Albanian workers and citizens during November last year. There is no democratic legitimacy and moral right in the refusal of people in positions of authority to heed the will of the people and resign their positions. These people are Rahman Morina, Ali Sukriu, and Husamedin Azemi, who are calculating on the proposed constitutional changes. The behavior of those people who are deaf to the news concerning the state of the Trepca miners is an arrogant one.

The Trepca miners' strike, the communique goes on to say, shows that the Albanian people are extremely tired of the political-juridical crusade carried out against Kosovo during the past 8 years: 8 years of verbal terror about counterrevolution, Albanian nationalism, indoctrination, Albanianism, Albanian natality, and genocide; 8 years of lies and deceit concerning the past and present of the Albanian people, their education, and their culture in general; 8 years of differentiation, investigations, arrests, trials, and sentences. This has become too much.

The strike of the Trepca miners and the solidarity with this strike show that the Albanian people desire to live together with the Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of other nationalities, with equal rights that are defended and honored. A policy that disregards the concern of a people for their own historic destiny and their weariness of repressive measures over a period of 8 years cannot be termed as a farsighted policy, nor can it be termed as a just policy.

As writers and teachers, we will do our utmost to promote understanding and human tolerance between the peoples and individuals in Kosovo.

Reaction, Appeals Noted on Kosovo Situation

Slovene LC Sends Letter

LD2402214489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—The already exacerbated situation in Kosovo, shaken by the Trepca miners' strike—which many work collectives and youth in Kosovo joined as an expression of solidarity with them—is assuming disturbing political dimensions in the province, throughout Yugoslavia, and even in the world. We in Slovenia are deeply shaken by these events, and we demand that the causes of the present exacerbations be eliminated as soon as possible, a letter of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium states. The letter was sent today to the Presidia of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the LCY Central Committee.

The miners put forward demands in which they express distress and protest. They want to talk about the strike, which is their legitimate right. It is politically unacceptable, irresponsible, and inhuman that no one has organized talks with them during the 4-day strike, and, above all, that those called by the miners did not come. With their arrival, those people would create an opportunity for the miners to come out in a tolerant and argumented dialogue and to consider their demands, to agree how to democratically resolve the political entanglement, and how to continue normal work. We are particularly concerned that the leading LC officials did not respond to the call, because the call meant for them an expression of the confidence in our organization. Moral and political damage can be repaired with difficulties, especially confidence in the LCY policy on Kosovo, which has been seriously shaken by such behavior from the most responsible people.

The situation in Kosovo places the legal institutions of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo, the SR of Serbia, and the SFRY in the position of responsibility to do everything with sensitivity and understanding for real causes of the distress of miners and other working people in Kosovo; for a peaceful and humane settling of affairs; a renewal of the confidence of the Albanian population; for a perspective for their life and development within the SR of Serbia and the SFRY, and for renewal of mutual trust, cooperation, and coexistence of members of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo. It is necessary to check responsibly, in detail and thoroughly, the adequacy of the previous assessment with regard to the causes of the situation in Kosovo, and whether the right political, legal, and other means have been chosen to resolve it. We are against double criteria for assessing ways in which members of various nations and nationalities in Kosovo and elsewhere in Yugoslavia express their dissatisfaction. The Slovene LC and its members in the LCY organs advocate such implementation of the LCY stands.

It is necessary to create conditions in which organs and legal institutions of the system can more efficiently resolve accumulated political, social, and intranational problems. Otherwise, exponents of nationalist and irredentist tendencies will take the initiative for resolving these problems and for positive processes for implementing the reform, enabling the adoption of amendments to the SFRY Constitution to be cut at the very beginning.

This also applies to the solutions which, on the basis of the SFRY Constitution and proceeding from the LCY Central Committee policy, try more adequately to regulate the position of the sociaist autonomous provinces

and relations in Serbia. We resolutely condemn the stands which offer expression and the application of force as a method for solving the accumulated political and intranational contradictions in Kosovo. The continuation and deepening of the human tragedy of the Kosovo miners should be prevented. One cannot justify the fact that they were forced into the position whereby they see the only way of preserving their dignity, political rights, and national equality is in risking their own lives. This demand is also voiced in numerous messages from miners from Slovene mines, working people and citizens—many of them Communists from all Slovenia—to the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium. They are firmly convinced that the exacerbation and spreading of conflicts will lead to a catastrophe of Yugoslav proportions, it is stated in the letter of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium.

Archbishop Pleads for Resolution

LD2502193089 Vatican City International Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] In connection with the dramatic situation in the Trepca mine and enjoined by his conscience, Cardinal Franjo Kuharic has made the folowing statement: Over 1,300 human lives are at stake, the lives of the miners who have chosen this most difficult way of expressing their demands, possibly even their despair. Wherever people suffer, and without going into an analysis of all the complex reasons which can lead to that, as the faithful we cannot remain indifferent and we must not remain silent. This drama is unique in history. Silence could render us accomplices in a possibly grave tragedy. I am sending, therefore, a public appeal and request to all people in repsonsible positions who have the possibility and responsibility to make decisions in a most serious and urgent way, to resolve this drama, leaving aside all other reasons of whatever nature which allow the issue to drag on.

We stand resolutely by the ethic principles that human rights of all the inhabitants of Kosovo, regardless of their national and religious membership, be consistently respected everywhere in the country, including in Kosovo, so that peaceful coexistence of every national community can become a reality in justice and reciprocal respect.

As human beings and Christians, we show solidarity with everyone who is suffering and are anxiously waiting for a solution in the hope that an irrevocable tragedy will not occur.

[Signed] Franjo Cardinal Kuharic, Archbishop of Zagreb